

UC-NRLF



\$B 41 429

E

185

6

M4

SOME PHASES OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

YC 27980

JUN 21 1949

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

GIFT OF

Charles W. Melick

Class

College Park, Md 6/28

Mr. J. C. Powell.
Berkeley Calif.

Dear Librarian:-

Replying to yours of the
22, in view of the fact
that my book *Some Phases*
of the Negro Question has
been sold and is no
longer on the market, you
may keep the copy
which you have with
my compliments.

I would be pleased
to receive postage on
same.

Very truly,
C. V. Melick.

SOME PHASES OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

BY
CHARLES W. MELICK, B.Sc., M.S.
"



1908
DAVID H. DE LOE
MT. RAINIER, MD.
AND WASHINGTON, D. C.

E185

.6

M4

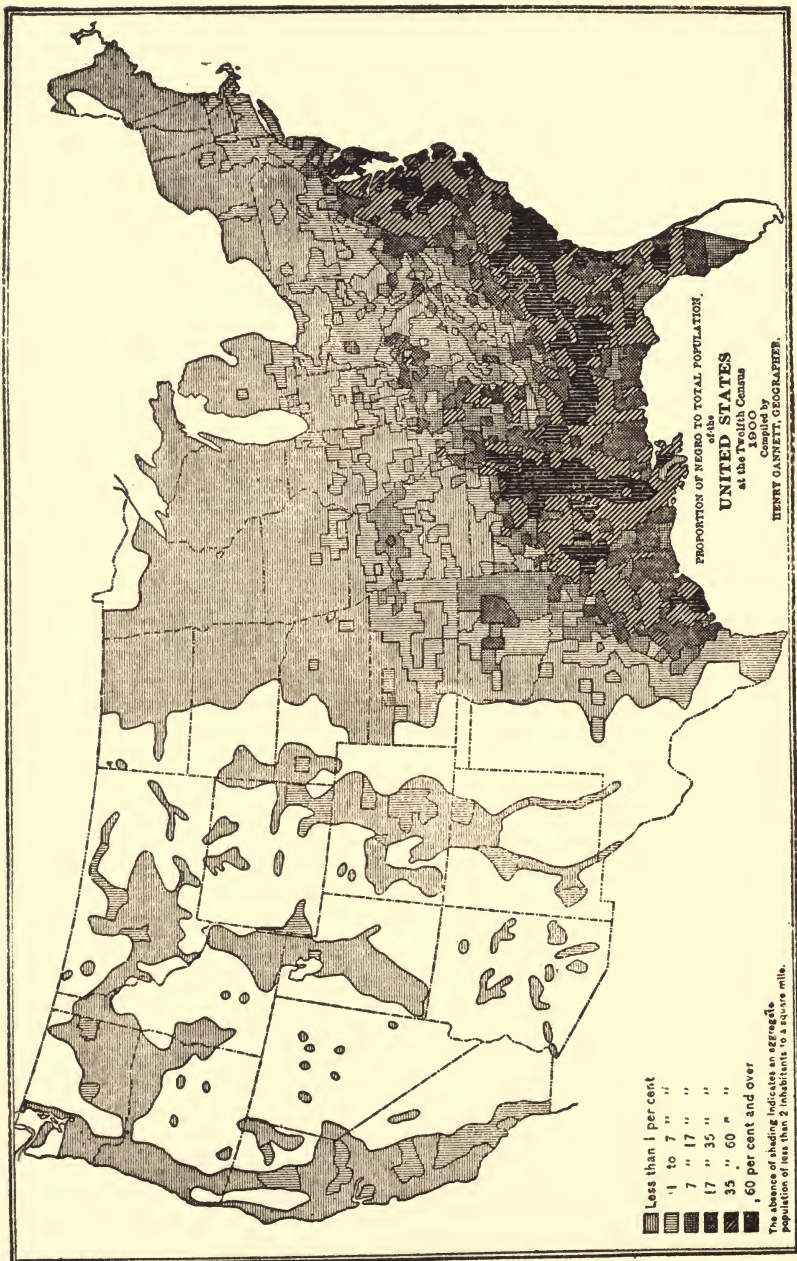
Wife
Author

Copyright, 1908, by Charles W. Melick.

All rights Reserved

I N D E X

	P A G E
Chapter I. Origin of the Negro	4
“ 2. Carroll's Theory of the Origin of the Indian and Mongolian	10
“ 3. The Effect of the Importation of the Negro Into America and Influence of the Ballot in his Hands	13
“ 4. Rate of Increase of the Negro	20
“ 5. Negro Labor in Competition with Anglo-Saxon Labor	22
“ 6. Amalgamation is Slowly, but Gradually, Increasing	25
“ 7. The Tuskegee Institute and Negro Education in the United States	32
“ 8. Statistics of the Negro in the United States as Affected by Education	37
“ 9. Occupation of the American Negro ; has Education Influenced it?	44
“ 10. The Influence of Booker T. Washington Should Extend to Liberia	48
“ 11. Two Factions Among the Negroes of the United States	51
“ 12. Opinions of Eminent Northern Men Before and After Having Visited the South	53
“ 13. Extracts from Senator Tillman's Speeches in the United States Senate Chamber	62
“ 14. Literature on the Negro Question	66
“ 15. Local Option in the South	71
“ 16. References from the Daily Press	73
“ 17. Results of Colonizing the American Negro in Africa	78
“ 18. The Opinion of Americo-Africans Regarding Colonization There	86
“ 19. General Conclusions	89



INTRODUCTION

Having spent the first twenty-nine years of my life in the Middle West, chiefly in Nebraska, and having only a meager conception of conditions existing in the South, like most other northern and western people I did not at that time interest myself in the race problem, because there are so few negroes in those localities that one's attention is seldom attracted to it there.

In 1906 my profession called me to Maryland, where about one-fourth of the population of that state are negroes.

I at once noticed an entirely different attitude of both races toward each other than that which prevailed in the West. In traveling through many of the states farther south I noticed a still more intense feeling. Almost unknowingly I began to study the question, and discussed it with a great many southern and northern people, who, like myself, had come south to live. Without exception, every northern person with whom I conversed had acquired an aversion for the negro, which continued to grow in negro environment.

In the North we met the best class of negroes, well-dressed, as waiters and porters, where for twenty-five-cent tips they are very polite and obliging. They lack the initiative and the power to lead, but are imitative, and the majority of them can be taught to skillfully perform certain lines of work, and, under the direction of more intelligent white men, become valuable laborers.

A few negroes in an environment of hustling western whites are far superior to those of a population of one-third negroes in the South.

In the South we see them in groups of hundreds, ragged, dirty, ignorant, and having a pungent, sickening odor.

In a community of 10,000 white inhabitants and 25 negroes, the question is an academic one, and the doctrinarian and sentimentalist have an easy time with it. In a community of 10,000 white inhabitants and 2,000 negroes there is less philosophy and more silence. In a community of 10,000 white inhabitants and 10,000 negroes the policeman supersedes the philosopher in relative importance, and the problem moves along as best it can under the circumstances.

The South has acted wisely in excluding the illiterate negro from the right of suffrage, and it is determined that the white race shall continue to control the political developments of the country, as it should. This deprives the negro of no legal right, for it also disfranchises the illiterate white, a law which should prevail in every state in the Union.

In many districts of the South racial conditions are nothing less than appalling; a disgrace to civilization. Here an unnatural condition exists in which the application of the golden rule would be almost a miracle. Immediately after the Civil War a few northern politicians succeeded in passing laws enfranchising the negroes, regardless of educational or other qualifications, while the southern whites who participated in the war were disfranchised for from four to twelve years, depending upon their official position in the Confederacy. The negroes proved themselves entirely incapable of executive ability, and the southern whites then wrested the power from them contrary to existing laws.

This condition naturally developed the worst side of the negro of the South, and, with the exception of the educated members of his race, he is less competent or trustworthy to-day than in slavery times. While there are still a few good old mammies and slaves with whom their employers would not part, the average southern negro is a degenerate.

The South is passing from an agricultural order, depressed by poverty and misrule, to an industrial democracy, wherein it is regaining its natural state.

The southern people have developed an overwhelming public sentiment in favor of education of all classes at public expense, thus making of a social system, semi-feudal in character, a democracy in social usage, as well as in political philosophy.

Perhaps the chief political constructive act of southern genius with reference to the negro has been the elimination of the idea of manhood suffrage, regardless of qualifications, thus removing the ignorant blacks from politics and drawing their attention to industrial life.

The South does not want so much to rid herself of the negroes as to place them on a level commensurate with their ability. She wants to retain them as servants, eliminating social and legal equality. In doing this contrary to existing laws it has been necessary to resort to severe and almost inhuman means. It would therefore be advantageous for both races if the negroes would consent to colonization in Africa, South America, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, or even in Florida and enough adjacent territory to support them.

The North admits that it was a stupendous error for a few northern politicians to enfranchise the negro, and the South admits the wrong of slavery. The only present difference of opinion is due to the existing

local environment with reference to the negro. This difference will continue to exist so long as there is a difference in the proportion of negroes to white population in the two sections. Should the proportion of negroes to whites become the same throughout the United States or amalgamation be effected, then the difference of opinion will be obliterated.

Having thus observed race conditions in various states of environment, having read numerous misleading magazine articles and books on the subject, having received frequent inquiries from friends of the middle west regarding the negro of the South, and believing that the people of the North and West should know southern racial conditions as they actually exist, I spent my spare evenings for a few weeks and wrote this book from an unprejudiced standpoint.

I have quoted others extensively, because of their eminence and authority on the questions at issue; also to substantiate my views. All of those quoted have lived in the South long enough to familiarize themselves with race conditions.

The book was written for popular reading, and those who do not accept the theory of the evolution of man are given a plausible and well substantiated line of thought regarding the development of the negro.

The race problem in the United States is gradually turning toward amalgamation and local option. If this does not meet the approval of the American people they should interest themselves enough to take some definite action toward colonization or some other solution.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO.

With a view to studying the race question from an unprejudiced standpoint let us consider briefly the two theories of man's creation, trace them down to the present time, and see what bearing they have upon present racial conditions in the United States of America.

1. Divine Creation.
2. Natural Development.

In the former, "God formed man out of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul," and in "the image of God;" "Thou mad'st him a little lower than the angels and hast crowned him with glory and honor."

Such creative power is similar to that of the birth of Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, a human being, his mother, and God, a spirit, his father.

These biblical teachings can be harmonized with the scientific theories of "Natural Development" in two ways: First, as described by Winchell in "Pre-Adamites," where he shows how the Almighty may have created man by "Natural Development," according to the following diagram, in which the sixth day spoken of in Genesis extended, as did the other days of that chapter, through unknown centuries.

Second, by combining the essential part of this theory with that of Divine Creation, we may assume that Adam and Eve were instantly made by the Almighty God and are the progenitors of the Caucasian race, while the lower orders of man advanced by evolution to their present state of development.

The Caucasian differs from all other races; he is humane, civilized, and progressive. He conquers with his head as well as with his hands. It is intellect, after all, that conquers, not the strength of man's arm. The Caucasian has often been master of the other races—never their slave. He has carried his religion to their races, but never taken theirs. All the great limited forms of monarchies are Caucasian; republics are Caucasian. All the great sciences are of Caucasian origin; all inventions are Caucasian; literature and romance came from the same stock; all the great poets are of Caucasian origin. No other race can bring up to memory such celebrated names as the Caucasian race.

The following photos of the Egyptian nobility of about 2,000 years ago, when compared with the modern Anglo-Saxon, illustrate the natural development of man :



THE FAMOUS QUEEN CLEOPATRA
(51-30 B. C.)

Note the difference between this photo and those of modern Anglo-Saxon beauties



PTOLEMY PHILOMETER
(164-145 B. C.)

The white race has an intensity of will and desire which is controlled by intellectuality.

Great things are undertaken readily, but not blindly. It manifests a strong utilitarianism, united with a powerful imagination, which elevates, ennobles, and idealizes its practical ideas. The negro can only imitate, the Chinese only utilize the work of the white, while the latter is abundantly capable of producing new works. His high sense of honor is a faculty unknown to other races, and springs from an exalted sentiment of which they show no indications. His sensations are less intense than in either the black or yellow, but his mentality is far more developed and energetic.

In support of the theory of Divine Creation we have the Bible and its millions of teachers. In support of the theory of "Evolution" we have many of the Bible teachers and thousands of scientists who comprise the foremost body of intellectual instructors and investigators of modern times. There is in reality no conflict between the two, for, as we have previously shown, God in His wisdom could have created man in either of the two ways.

A fire-mist and a planet,
A crystal and a cell,
A jelly-fish and a saurian,
And caves where cave-men dwell;
Then a sense of law and beauty,
And a face turned from the clod;
Some call it Evolution,
And others call it God.

A haze on the far horizon,
The infinite tender sky,
The ripe, rich tints of the cornfields,
And the wild geese sailing high,
And all over—upland and lowland—
The charm of the golden-rod;
Some of us call it Autumn,
And others call it God.

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach,
When the moon is new and thin,
Into our hearts high yearnings
Come welling and surging in;
Come from the mystic ocean,
Whose rim no foot has trod;
Some of us call it Longing,
And others call it God.

—William Herbert Carruth.

According to science, every living creature passes through the various stages of development of its race.

Class, Mamalia.
 Order, Bimana.
 Genus, Homo.
 Species, Man.

—*Dr. Young.*

I have seen negro boys, two and three years old, sleep sitting on their "haunches," as it may best be expressed, resting their head on their knees; a position that is common in the ape tribe.

H. M. Bernelot Moens, Dutch professor of zoology, left Paris March 27, 1908, with a scientific expedition for the French Congo. The financial backing for the affair is provided by Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, the prince consort and the queen mother. The Pasteur Institute, of Paris, is also aiding the expedition, and the French government has instructed the governor of the French Congo to assist in every possible way.

The object of this expedition is to create a new race midway between the anthropoid (man-like) apes and the Congolese negroes. Fossil skulls that have been found—one near Dusseldorf in 1856, a second in a cave near Namur in 1879, and a third in the Isle of Java in 1891—prove that such an intermediate race once existed. Professor Moens believes that the time is come for science, in full freedom and disregarding religious prejudices, to experiment in this field. Speaking of this investigation, Professor Moens said:

"The anthropoid ape is the type nearest to man. It has the same number of bones, the same number of muscles, the teeth are similar, the nervous system is the same, and the embryonic evolution the same.

"Recent researches prove that identical blood circulates in man and the anthropoid ape. This fact is of extreme importance, for animals not closely akin have blood of different composition. That is, we cannot succeed in mixing those bloods. When the blood of a cat is mixed with the blood of a hare both animals die in a few minutes of convulsive attacks. On the other hand, we can mix the blood of the rabbit with that of the hare, of the horse and the donkey, and the blood of a dog and a wolf without destroying the red corpuscles. Also, experience shows that such kindred animals can breed and have descendants; then why not the hybrid of a man and an anthropoid ape? Science has already crossed the various apes, overcoming the prejudices and dislikes of these animals for each other by artificial means.

"The crossing of anthropoids with the lower apes is of great value to science. It now remains for science to cross anthropoids with the higher race, and I have chosen the negroes of the French Congo as being the nearest of all humans to these apes. Of course, you understand I shall use artificial methods, selecting as mothers the youngest and healthiest specimens of the anthropoid apes. I expect also to carry on similar experiments with Congolese negroes and female gorillas and

chimpanzees. Unscientific people may criticise this work, but it is of the greatest value as showing the origin and development of the human race."

The fifth, ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis; the first chapter of 1st Chronicles, and the first chapter of Matthew, upon which the theory of the descent of the negro from Ham is based, does not convey that idea to the thoughtful reader. Genesis 10-19 proves the contrary.

If the Hamite origin of the negro were true, the Hottentots, Australians, Papuan and negroes have greatly degenerated, contrary to all the laws of nature, as will be observed by the outline on pages 5 and 6.

Dr. Winchell says:

"Negroes are void of sensibility to a surprising degree. They are not subject to nervous disease, nor does any mental disturbance keep them awake.

"The mental indolence of negroes is further shown in the comparative records of insanity and idiocy. While among whites mania occurs in the proportion of 0.76 per thousand, among negroes it is only 0.10 per thousand. While idiocy among the former is 0.73 per thousand, among the latter it is 0.37 per thousand.

"Let me mention one fact especially, drawn from my own experience of forty years.

"The coarseness of their organization makes them require about double the dose of ordinary medicine used for whites.

"The exemption of the negro from malarial diseases, and sundry other pathological affections of the white race is another significant diagnostic. If the population of New England, Germany, France, England, or other northern climates, should come to Mobile, or to New Orleans, a large proportion would die of yellow fever. On the contrary, negroes, under all circumstances, enjoy an almost perfect exemption from the disease, even though brought from our northern states.

"In the negro the development of the body is generally in advance of the white. His wisdom teeth are cut sooner; and in estimating the age of his skull we must reckon it as at least five years in advance of the white.

"The person of the white exhales an odor which is scarcely perceptible, and not especially offensive. In striking contrast to this the negro is characterized by a very strong, offensive odor.

"Among negroes the forearm is longer in proportion to the arm than is the case with whites. The same is true of anthropoid apes. The negro's arm when suspended by the side reaches the knee-pan within a distance of only four and three-eighths per cent of the whole length of the body. The white man's arm reaches the knee-pan within a distance which is seven and one-half per cent of the whole length of the body. This length of the arm is a quadrumanous characteristic.

"The teeth of the negro are wider apart than in the white races, beautifully white, very firm and sound, and set slanting in the jaw. Their ears are small, round, and their border not well curled, the lobule short and scarcely detached, and the auditory opening wide. The neck is short, lips thick, hair woolly, nose flat, calves slender, and the retreating contour of the chin as compared with the European approximates the negro to the chimpanzee and lower mammals. The entire face, and especially the lower portion, projects forward. The face occupies the greater portion of the total length of the head. The anterior cranium is less developed than the

posterior, relatively to that of the white. In other words, the negro has the cerebral cranium less developed than the white.

"In some parts of southern Asia and eastern Africa the natives live together in herds without the slightest attempt at clothing, and their whole mode of living shows much more resemblance to that of hordes of wild apes than to any civilized community.

There are also places in rural districts of Louisiana where the negroes live in a similar manner. They live in large colonies, poor, filthy, diseased, and act like semi-savages.

"It is a well-known fact that the chimpanzees and monkeys of Africa use stones to crack nuts, and throw them with almost as much accuracy as the natives of that continent.

"Buffon's chimpanzee offered people his arm and walked with them in an orderly manner. He also used a knife and fork while eating."

This is only one of the thousands of similar known instances of almost human intelligence that have been displayed by these animals. In view of the fact that all nature tends to rise in the scale of life, is it any wonder that science was led to trace the relationship of such human-acting creatures to the lowest forms of man?

"The inferiority of the negro is fundamentally structural. I have enumerated the points in his anatomy in which he diverges from the white race and have indicated that, in all these particulars, he approximates the organisms below. It follows that what the negro is structurally at the present time is the best he has ever been. It follows that he has not descended from Adam."

Negroes know no bashfulness, and are never ashamed of their conduct. If accused they enumerate all sorts of excuses, and assume a look of innocence that would do credit to a saint.

On March 12, 1908, I saw a negro boy, evidently about thirteen years old, being led by handcuffs through the Baltimore union depot. He walked erect, rattled his handcuffs, and attracted attention, with apparent pride in the performance. Eye-witnesses to his theft said that he professed absolute ignorance of it.

Dr. Winchell also says that capacity of cranium is universally recognized as a criterion of psychic power.

"The average weight of the European brain, male and female, is 1340 grams; that of the negro is 1178; of the Hottentot, 974. The brain of Byron, the poet, at 36 years of age, weighed 1807 grams, and that of Cuvier, the naturalist, at 63 years, weighed 1829 grams."

The following table shows the inferiority of an admixture of negro blood:

Weight of brain in grams.

24 whites.....	1424 grams.
25 three-quarters white.....	1390 "
47 one-half white.....	1334 "
51 one-quarter white.....	1319 "
95 one-eighth white.....	1308 "
22 one-sixteenth white.....	1280 "
50 negroes.....	1278 "

—*Anthropology.*

Notwithstanding these facts, there are some who claim that the negro is the equal of the caucasian.

Dr. Hrdlicka, of the Smithsonian and National Museum, and one of the best authorities on the subject, says:

"While the chimpanzee is very close to man in a great many respects, yet it is probable that the one or several direct progenitors of mankind were other primates, now modified or extinct. Man's evolution has doubtless been in most respects gradual, and intermediary forms between the last ape-primate and the actual man were surely innumerable."

Such evolution of the negro is certainly no more improbable than that of the domestic fowl from the snake family, as proved by science.

The earliest known historical reference to the "races of men" is given by Plato, 300 years B. C. His father, Solon, a law-giver of Athens, spent ten years in Egypt, where he obtained fragments of the history of the lost continent of Atlantis, from which the earliest races probably sprung. Plato frequently alludes to "the human race" and "the race of men."

Since Plato's time, Darwin, Haeckel, Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, Winchell, M. de Quatrefages and others have traced the probable development of certain species of animals to the lower species of man, types of the negro, leaving us to conclude for ourselves whether or not the Malay, Indian, Mongolian and Caucasian developed from the former.

From this we may assume that whether we believe in the theory of Natural Development, or Divine Creation, the negro descended from a species of prehistoric animal of which there may be several "missing links."

CHAPTER II.

CARROLL'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN AND MONGOLIAN.

History has taught us that in all great migrations, where one class of people migrated to or invaded another country, one of three conditions is inevitable:

First, the invaders might absorb and finally exterminate the original inhabitants.

Second, they might be driven out by the original possessors of the country.

Third, they might be absorbed by the original inhabitants.

The first condition mentioned was what happened with regard to the North American Indians. There was no absorption or amalgamation; they were driven westward, step by step, as the white man advanced.

Examples of the second are numerous among the various tribes of Africa. The Jews of Russia may also be included in this class.

As to the third, the belief is quite prevalent that the Indian and Mongolian are the result of an amalgamation of the Caucasian race and those of the Malay and negro.

Many of the nations that have achieved greatness and whose powers are a thing of the past have probably been reduced to their present condition by the adoption of such methods.

Greece, Rome and China are the most remarkable examples of this phenomena. Carroll discusses the subject as follows:

"Mixed bloods in which the white blood largely predominates may, under favorable conditions, retain more or less of their inherited possessions for an indefinite period. From among the numerous examples of this kind which are furnished by various continents we shall select Greece as an illustration, since her history, both ancient and modern, is more generally understood.

"There was a period in the history of Greece when her people were famed throughout the world for their white skins, their fair hair, and their possession of all the exalted physical and mental characters which are peculiar to that sublime creature whom God honored in the creation by the bestowal of His 'likeness' and His 'image.' In that remote age of her history, Greece gave to posterity a galaxy of intellects whose names and whose achievements adorn the brightest pages in the world's history. But, alas! alas! their towering intellectuality, their boundless enterprise, their resistless energy, their dauntless courage, combined with their forgetfulness of God, paved the way to their ruin. During their various wars thousands of

negroes were captured and imported into Greece as slaves, together with thousands of captives taken from the mixed-blooded tribes and nations against whom Greece waged war.

"These were never exported, yet they have long since disappeared, leaving no progeny of negroes in their stead. And it is a scientific fact, and one which no anthropologist, no historian, and no traveler will deny, that the white-skinned, fair-haired Greek of ancient times has also disappeared, leaving no progeny of white-skinned, fair-haired Greeks.

"What became of them? A glance at our surroundings should convince us that, in an evil hour, amalgamation laid its blighting touch upon the vitals of Greece; and, in the course of centuries, under its destructive influences, the white-skinned, fair-haired Greek and the black-skinned, woolly-haired negro disappeared, and were replaced by the dark-haired Greek of modern times. This radical change in the physical characteristics of her population was accompanied by a corresponding change in their mentality, and consequently in the status of Greece among the nations of the earth; and that fair land, once the home of the highest culture, became the abode of ignorance and superstition. Many a long century has dragged its weary length into eternity since Greece produced a Homer, an Aristides, a Herodotus, a Pericles, a Solon, a Plato, or a Demosthenes.

"Pausing amid the busy scenes of daily life to view the routes which man has trodden from the creation to the crucifixion, or even down to the fall of the Roman Empire, or down to our day, if you will, we observe the wrecks of principalities, kingdoms and empires, with here and there one which in the zenith of its wealth and power ruled the world. But, alas! their glory has departed; their once intellectual, cultured and powerful populations no longer grace the earth; their name is history; in many instances even their national boundaries are stricken from the maps of the world; their once fertile fields that bloomed and fruited in the smiles of heaven and yielded an abundant harvest as the reward of intelligent, industrious culture are now barren wastes; their former cities, once the flourishing marts of the world's commerce, are now buried beneath the earth, or if any vestige of them remains upon its surface still, a mass of ruins alone mark their sites; their once splendid capitals, within the palaces of which royalty, the nobility, the intellect, the culture, the beauty, the chivalry, the wealth and fashion of those ancient realms held high revel, are now swept from the earth, or are in ruins. Like Petra, Idumea's once proud capital, they are degraded to a fold for herds and flocks; or, like Ninevah, that city that 'dwelt carelessly,' they have become a 'desolation—a place for beasts to lie down in'; or, like Palenque, the ruins of their former beauties and grandeurs are now buried in the gloom and solitude of the jungle. Their histories or their traditions, if any have descended to us, or their monuments or their inscriptions, if any remain, all teach us that in their prosperous days the white and black—man and negro—were represented in their populations. But, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that any remnant of their descendants which can be identified are colored—some shade of brown or yellow. If neither history, nor tradition, nor monument, nor inscription, nor any remnant of their descendants can be found, an investigation of the ruins of their civilization reveals the idol—the most infallible evidence that amalgamation destroyed them."

"Many valuable arts which these ancient whites possessed were inherited by their mixed-blooded descendants and lost; such as the art of tempering copper to the hardness of steel, etc."

"On the monuments of Central America there are representations of bearded men. How could the beardless American Indian have imagined a bearded race?"

"Professor Wilson describes the hair of the ancient Peruvians as found upon their mummies as a light brown and of a fineness of texture which equals the Anglo-Saxon race.

"Ancient ruins of remarkable edifices were found near Hungaria, and described by Cieca de Leon, who said that, according to tradition, that city was built by bearded white men who came there long before the time of Incas and established a settlement."

Quatrefages says: "In the crossings between unequal human races the father almost always belongs to the superior race. In every case, and especially in the transient amours, woman refuses to lower herself; man is less delicate." This is also proven in the association of the whites and negroes of America.

According to Renouf, Wilkerson, Rawlinson, Legge, Clark and Max Muller, many of the mixed-blooded races, such as the Chinese, Hindoos, Egyptians, etc., have preserved some of the literature of their white ancestors. Careful investigation of this literature reveals the fact that their remote ancestors were monotheists. Yet in every instance their mixed-blooded descendants, when far removed from the influence of the whites, have lost all knowledge of God, and have in many instances descended to idolatry.

CHAPTER III.

THE EFFECT OF THE IMPORTATION OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICA, AND INFLUENCE OF THE BALLOT IN HIS HANDS.

From time immemorial the various tribes of Africa have made slaves not only of their enemies, but also of numbers of their own tribes. Almost every European nation has from time to time secured and retained as slaves these blacks of Africa.

Negroes were not, as a rule, filched from their homes by white depredators, but were gathered into convict gangs by their own village chiefs and driven to the baracoons (barracks), where they were held until purchased and shipped off to foreign lands. Neighbors who had domestic quarrels had only to prefer charges of witchcraft in order to get each other into the chain gang, ordeals by poison, or fire, determining their guilt, subject to the caprice of the petty officials administering them, and these in turn were easily susceptible to bribes. As a rule, white slave traders, or contractors, as they were termed, had native chiefs in their service, who went on raids for the purpose of collecting slaves for export; so that, between the upper and nether millstones, common people had a poor chance for a permanent residence on the Dark Continent.

Following this custom, a Dutch trader sailed to Liberia, situated on the western coast of Africa, and captured in 1620 a ship load of these black natives of the jungle, and, thinking only of his ill-gotten gain, regardless of the future results upon the nation, introduced the slave trade into America.

At that time the people of the southern States were as loath to keeping slaves as were those of the northern States. No slave was ever brought to this country by a southern vessel.

From 1620 to 1864 negroes were kept as slaves south of Mason and Dixon's Line (boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania), where they cultivated cotton, tobacco, and corn. During this time they learned to till the soil, harvest crops, raise live stock, and some of them learned the rudiments of the carpenter trade.

Their contact with American people, especially on the plantations of men like George Washington, had a tendency to make them more capable of making a living and supporting a family than in their natural

state. They were still entirely incapable of managing their own affairs, but in this condition were turned loose in 1864 a free race among the most highly civilized people of the world. Some of them were glad to get away from cruel traders; others refused to leave good masters.

Through the influence of United States Senators Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, the former one of the most unscrupulous, yet influential, politicians that was ever in the United States Congress, a law was passed giving the negroes a right to vote and disfranchising the southern whites who had participated in the civil war. Stevens opposed Lincoln in all of his policies. In his argument with Stevens, Abraham Lincoln said: "I believe that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid their living together on terms of political and social equality. If such be attempted one must go to the wall."

"Very well," said Stevens, "pin the southern white man to the wall! Our party and the nation will then be safe. The life of our party demands that the negro be given the ballot and made the ruler of the South."

"My God! Stevens, are you a man or a savage?" replied Lincoln. "The negro has cost us \$5,000,000,000, the desolation of ten great states, and rivers of blood. We can well afford a few million dollars more to effect a permanent settlement of the issue. We must assimilate or expel them."

"I can conceive of no greater calamity than the assimilation of the negro into our social and political life as our equal. A mulatto citizenship would be too dear a price to pay even for emancipation. We can never attain the ideal Union our fathers dreamed of, with millions of an alien, inferior race among us, whose assimilation is neither possible nor desirable. A nation cannot exist half white and half black, any more than it could exist half slave and half free."—*The Clansman*.

At this point it will be well to recall the fact that in 1778 Virginia, and in 1798 Georgia, passed acts prohibiting the importation of slaves, Virginia fixing as a penalty the fine of 1,000 pounds.

Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky formed a compact to support a practical system of emancipating slaves by degrees. This movement was stopped by the abolitionists, who demanded immediate and uncompensated freedom of all slaves.

After the assassination of Lincoln, which marked the saddest event that the nation ever knew, and at one of the most critical crises, when he, above all men, was needed to solve the race problem of America, Thaddeus Stevens was not only instrumental in annulling Lincoln's plans, but succeeded in enforcing laws directly contrary to them. Lincoln had told Stevens that he promised to reinstate the South when they laid down their arms. This he intended to do, regardless of Stevens

or anyone else. He also told Stevens that he would colonize the negro. Stevens replied: "The South must be wiped off the map and made submissive."

After the disfranchising of all southern whites who had participated in the war and placing the ballot in the hands of the negroes a condition existed in the southern states the equal of which has never been recorded in history. Big, black, burly, bare-footed, ragged negroes with dirty white collars and bright red or yellow neckties sat in public offices, and, although they could neither read nor write their names, executed the laws of their communities, while the aristocratic southern men, who had been their masters and owners, could neither command, instruct, nor vote with them.

J. S. Pike, who at that time was United States Minister to Holland, and who had been an abolitionist during the war, visited the South, and afterwards wrote a little book called "Black Parliament," in which he says:

"Here, then, is the outcome, the ripe fruit, of boasted civilization of the South. She gradually rose to wealth, culture, and refinement. Now reduced and prostrate in the dust. Overruled by conglomerate ranks of its own servile population, rude, most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw, invested with functions of government. The dregs of the population inhabit the robes of their predecessors. Barbarism overwhelming civilization. A wonder and a shame to civilization."

W. L. Clowes, a northerner, reporting for *The New York Times*, who spent twelve years in the South investigating race conditions at that time, writes in "Black America":

"In North Carolina several members of the State Legislature were unable to read. They robbed the state and trifled with its credit. A barroom was established in the capitol building, where drinking and smoking continued from morning till night."

On account of the Republican party being in power during the civil war and at its close, the negroes were Republicans to a man.

In Alabama there were 26 negroes in the House and 1 in the Senate.

The negroes sold their votes to the highest bidder. Strife and ill-feeling was kept up between the two races.

In South Carolina, in 1876, the election returns for delegates for framing a new state constitution showed 63 negroes and 34 whites. The whites were northern adventurers and southern renegades. The constitution drawn up by this body was adopted in 1867 by negro voters, who were not legally franchised until March 30, 1870.

They exploited the state for their own private interests. Fancy clocks, expensive sofas, and \$20 spittoons replaced the old ones. A combination restaurant and saloon was also established in the capitol.

In this morass of rottenness the state expenses amounted to \$2,000,-000 in 1872, while the annual expenses were normally \$400,000.

Decency, intelligence, and property were subjected to the domination of a black, ignorant, pauper multitude. Vice superseded. A bloody riot with the incensed whites occurred in Edgefield county in January, 1875, in which lives were lost on both sides.

In Georgia the state debt increased from \$5,827,000 to \$18,183,000 from 1868 to 1870, and the state bonds became almost unmarketable. Ballot boxes were tampered with and election returns falsified.

"In Virginia," writes Mr. Robert Stiles, "I appeared in circuit court before a bench on which sat a so-called judge, who had the day before been a clerk in a village grocery store, and who was no better fitted for the dignity and duty devolving upon him than any other negro grocery boy."

In Mississippi, as Mr. Clowes expressed it, "It was a fool's paradise for negroes."

The Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1867 was manipulated to show 45,218 white and 84,463 colored votes. Only six white members succeeded in obtaining seats in the Senate.

Corruption and bribery reigned supreme.

The New Orleans *Republican*, in which Governor Warmoth, a tricky "carpet bagger," was principal shareholder, received in one year \$1,140,-881 for public printing.

The negroes became intensely proud and began to assert themselves. This led to the organization of the Ku Klux Klan, an order of southern whites, improperly called white caps, sworn to stamp out African rule, and who caused the mysterious disappearance of many a negro and white instigator of negro outrages. They frequently raided and frightened whole communities of superstitious negroes almost into hysterics. An incident of this kind occurred one night in a little town in southern Kentucky. A party of the "Ku Klux" came quietly into the negro quarters of the little burg about 12 o'clock, when every resident was sleeping soundly, and after carefully tying several small dogs in flour sacks, dropped them simultaneously down as many chimneys of the negro dwellings. The result can easily be imagined. An uproar and stampede followed, in which cries of "De Debbil am a comin' sho!" "Oh, Lawd a massy!" etc., were mingled in ridiculous accents. A few pistol shots from the retreating Ku Klux only added to the pandemonium.

The following letter from one of the original members of the Klan, now a United States senatorial clerk, will be of interest in this connection :

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1908.

C. W. MELICK,

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of the 4th, I will say that I have now in advanced preparation a book giving a history of the origin, purposes and accomplishments of the Ku Klux Klan. Responding to your questions seriatim, there was only one order of the Ku Klux Klan, without any branches. General Forrest, who was the Supreme Wizard of the Klan, in his testimony before the "Joint Commission to Investigate Conditions in the Insurrectionary States," placed the membership at about 500,000. The Klan was organized in April, 1867, at Pulaski, Tennessee, and was disbanded by order of the Supreme Wizard in 1869. It operated in nearly all of the southern states, but its principal field of action was in Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. The Klan was originally organized for pastime, but having adopted a peculiar garb and practiced some spectacular antics that impressed the superstitious negroes, it was soon observed that it had a controlling effect over the negroes who were beginning to go into excesses under the inspiration of mean white men, and so the Klan was early turned into somewhat of a political organization. Under evil influences, the negro was fast rushing upon his own destruction, for it would have soon been necessary to either annihilate him or give him full sway over southern interests and southern people. The punitive efforts of the Klan were almost always directed at the white instigator of negro devilry, realizing that the negro himself was most tractable and could be easily kept within safe bounds if his evil advisers were suppressed. The final result of the movement was to get rid of these white scalawags and save the negro from annihilation. The Ku Klux Klan stood resolutely for law and order, and it was a necessary adjunct of civilization then, because the courts were inadequate and in many places indisposed to protect the property interests and personal rights of the people, and they had to take things into their own hands. I have no kind of doubt that but for the Ku Klux Klan there would inevitably have been a war of races that would have resulted in the destruction of the negro race, and it would have been far more disastrous to southern property interests than even the civil war, and my opinion is that the Ku Klux Klan was one of the great movements ordained by Providence along the ages to further civilization and human progress, and that when the final truth is known history will say that it did more for the negro himself than anything else appertaining to his emancipation from slavery and ignorance.

Very truly yours,

LAPS D. McCORD.

From a copy of the original Prelate of the Ku Klux Klan, which two of the members showed me, I judge that its mission was purely of a patriotic nature. The majority of the excesses in such lines were committed by unscrupulous bands of night riders, disguised in the name of the Ku Klux, after that organization had disbanded.

Northern politicians took advantage of the situation, and before every election of any consequence many of them went down through the South, or sent their representatives, and solicited votes, and at election time collected them. Naturally, those who covered the most territory secured the largest number of votes, regardless of his policies. These electioneers were called "carpet baggers."

From that time until the present the negro vote has been a disgrace to civilization. There are many places in Maryland and Virginia where

the negroes line up or sit on a fence in a row near the polls waiting for politicians to come along and make bids for their vote. There are some places in the states farther south where they are kept away from the polls entirely.

The full-blooded negro has little or no patriotism. They have no country they can call their own, and, like you or I, or anyone else under the same circumstances, would have little interest in government affairs.

They were frequently made to think that when they voted the heavens would open and send them a blessing, or something similar would happen. Since they found out differently they vote principally the way they are paid for it, or influenced by white politicians.

In some states they are not allowed to vote unless they are able to interpret the names on the ticket.

The shrewd politicians meet this difficulty by holding meetings in schoolhouses and halls every evening for a week or so previous to election, and instructing the negroes by the use of a ballot-box and ticket prepared similar to those used on election day.

A few years after the civil war Abraham Lincoln's picture was used on the ticket, and anyone who wished to vote the straight Republican ticket would make their mark on this picture. When public sentiment demanded a more intelligent vote, this system was abandoned for separate party tickets, where a straight ticket could be voted or each separate name scratched.

This has recently been abandoned for a single ticket, with all the parties included, and the names intermixed. A great deal of instruction or scheming is therefore required in order to obtain an intelligent negro vote. All soiled or improperly folded ballots are also discarded. Several instances have been brought to my notice where the political instructors cut holes in sheets of pasteboard or brown paper in such a manner that when placed directly over the ticket a scratch could be made through each hole and the names of the desired persons thus scratched.

These pasteboards were folded and distributed among the negro voters, who carried them to the polls in their pockets and used them when voting.

I also know of one negro, a Bill Scott, of the fifth district of Baltimore county, Maryland, who in the fall election of 1899 was told to swear by the Bible that he was a legal resident of that district, and, not seeming to understand what was required, began to eat the leaves of the Bible on which he was to place his hand. The Bible was used in some districts at that time for swearing in voters. After such a display of ignorance he was permitted to cast his vote. A highly intelligent and patriotic piece of business for United States citizens!

All of the southern states have adopted laws making the eligibility requirement for voting so rigid, and aimed directly at the negro, that

they disqualify the majority of them. The substance of the law in the southern states, as a whole, differing slightly in some of them, is as follows:

No person may be allowed to vote unless he can read and intelligently interpret a part of the Constitution; who himself, or wife, has not \$500 or more; or unless his grandfather voted before the war.

The first part of this law applies equally to the white and black—the educational requirement. The “grandfather clause” and property requirement admits most of the whites regardless of education.

This law seems unjust to a Northern or Western man, but the South of necessity had to adopt some such means to control the negro rabble. Any sane white man under similar conditions would have used his influence to adopt similar laws. Virginia and Maryland were the last states to pass such laws. Virginia passed hers in 1902, and Maryland followed in 1908.

A great many of the Southern men whose business a high tariff benefits are Republicans on national issues and Democrats on local issues. Many of the rice, sugar, and tobacco dealers belong to this list.

Not only have the white voters of the Southern states controlled the elections ever since 1876 by combining in the Democratic party, but they have recently adopted that method in the Republican party in Virginia.

On April 8th, 1908, the sixth congressional district of that state held its Republican convention to elect delegates to the National Convention in Chicago.

When the chairman took his seat he said: “This is a white man’s meeting, representing a white Republican party, and any statement to the contrary is a lie.”

There were about twenty negroes present, who repeatedly tried to gain the floor, but were as often and as readily silenced.

This is the first record of a Republican meeting south of the Mason and Dixon line in which negroes were not permitted to participate.

Occasionally a negro will become broad-minded enough to say, as did Mr. A. M. Church (colored), of Vicksburg, Miss.: “The mass of negroes would do themselves and the country more good if the ballot-box were out of their reach.” Many of them, however, are among the class which the following represents:

On the 23rd of March, 1908, a party of colored men from certain districts of the South visited the White House and complained to President Roosevelt about ill-treatment at the polls.

They were not from Maryland or Virginia, or they would have received fifty cents and a glass of whiskey apiece for their vote, instead of being driven from the polls.

CHAPTER IV.

RATE OF INCREASE OF THE NEGRO.

The rate of increase of the negro is, as a whole, less than that of the white, partly because the mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons seldom intermarry with full-blooded negroes, but intermarry among themselves or with whites, and their offspring eventually becomes so near white that they are classed as such.

The chief cause, however, for the lesser rate of increase is due to the fact that, although their birth rate is higher, their death rate is so much higher than their birth rate that the result is a lower per cent of increase.

The higher death rate is obviously due to their unsanitary habits of living. When we see them living, as Mr. Bond says, in Chapter VII, "like hogs!—yes, sir, like hogs!" we wonder that some of them live as long as they do. I know of whole families of them who have died of tuberculosis contracted by unsanitary living.

Not only is this true of the full-blooded negroes who colonize in the rural swamp districts of South Carolina and Louisiana and have become so degraded as to live like wild animals, speaking in South Carolina a dialect composed of a mixture of degenerate English and the original African tongue, and in Louisiana a French yiddish, but in parts of Washington, D. C., there is, aside from dialect, a semblance of similar conditions.

Right in Washington, where some of the greatest efforts have been made to educate and develop the best that there is in the negro, where he has had exceptional educational, religious, and social opportunities, the illegitimate births among the colored population of that city were, in 1879, 17.6 per cent; in 1893, 27 per cent, and in 1894, 26.46 per cent. During those years the per cent of illegitimate births among the whites of Washington was, in 1879, 2.32 per cent; 1893, 2.82 per cent, and in 1894, 2.56 per cent.

Our fair capital is one of the most beautiful cities in the Union, but its beauty is confined to the government buildings, parks, and Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts avenues. Go to Monkey Hollow, Black-and-Tan Court, or any other negro suburb, or to the city jail any morning, and you will have a different version of the national capital.

I have known of negro mothers allowing their babies less than two years old to go month after month without a bath, sleep in unventilated rooms containnig ten or a dozen people, and for breakfast receive nothing but tea or coffee. And some of the men drink whiskey, when obtainable, in preference to either.

Another cause of the higher rate of increase among the southern whites is that of northern white immigration during the past ten years.

The government has expended millions of dollars during this time in experimental and investigation work in the South in every branch of agriculture, for the purpose of aiding the people of the southern states in reclaiming the depleted soil of abandoned plantations.

Northern capital and northern men are rapidly developing the business interests and reclaiming the soil of the South by modern scientific methods.

As the western frontier became exhausted, enterprising immigration sought these large tracts of untilled plantation land left idle by the freed slaves.

CHAPTER V.

NEGRO LABOR IN COMPETITION WITH ANGLO-SAXON LABOR.

One reason why the South is better adapted to the negro than the North, and the reason that Booker T. Washington advises him to remain there, is because of the more advanced racial spirit which prevails in the South. Prejudice there being sharper has forced the negro back upon his own resources.

When he can no longer cling to the skirts of the white man, he either lapses into worthless idleness, or supports negro enterprises.

As one negro expressed it: "Forty years ago the white man emancipated us, but we are only just now discovering that we must emancipate ourselves."

On account of negro labor being practically the only labor of the South, negroes are more readily accepted there as carpenters, blacksmith, etc., than in the North, where white labor predominates. For this reason the average amount of work per day in the South is less than half what it is in the North.

The negro of the North, is, for the most part, compelled to take a second place in industry.

Here they meet the competition of the native whites, the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Irish, and Germans, who are all far more energetic, and generally do more than double the amount of work of the negro.

In the smaller cities, where the negro population is not increasing rapidly, or in exceptional instances, such as that of the Van Camp Packing Company, of Indianapolis, Indiana, who fitted up a new plant to be operated entirely by negroes, they are not discriminated against. But in large cities, where they exist in great numbers, a feeling of opposition is steadily growing.

In abolition times the negroes of northern cities were highly respected. Many of them were accorded unusual opportunities and favors; such as the better educated negroes are given there to-day; such as they found several years ago in Germany. In a few instances these negroes became wealthy.

At the time when the North was passionately concerned in the abolition of slavery, the color of the skin frequently gave the negro special advantages, even honors. For years after the war this condition con-

tinued. Then a stream of immigration of southern negroes began to appear, increasing in numbers, until to-day all of our large northern cities have negro colonies, usually in the lowest suburbs.

As the negro colonies increased, outrageous assaults began to occur. In such localities the northern whites soon became as hostile to the negro as the Southern whites. An illustration of this was demonstrated in the mob riot of Springfield, Illinois, August 14 to 19, 1908, in which the jail and negro settlements were repeatedly stormed, with loss of several lives and thousands of dollars' worth of property, and quiet was only restored by state troops, police, and fire departments.

The riot was instigated by two negro assaults. First, a negro, Joe James, entered, after night, the home of Mr. A. Ballard, a prominent Christian, and attempted to assault his eighteen-year-old daughter. Mr. Ballard, in defending her, was stabbed to death by the negro. Second, on August 14 a negro crept into the home of Mrs. Earl Hallem, dragged her from her bed into her garden, where he assaulted her and left her unconscious.

The color line soon began to be drawn to a certain extent by those who came in contact with the negroes, either in social or business life.

The following examples amply illustrate this fact:

A certain electric company of New York recently wrote to the president of an industrial college asking if he had a few good bright boys who wanted employment. The president of the school replied that he had several, and among them two negroes. The next mail brought the following letter: "No colored boys, however promising, are wanted."

The manager of a business firm in Lincoln, Nebraska, said, when asked why he did not employ negro help: "It isn't so much the color as efficiency. I have no sentiment in the matter. It's business. The average colored man can't do as much work nor do it as well as the average white man. The negroes lack speed and skill."

A Chicago firm replied to the same question: "We have tried negro help over and over again, hoping to aid the condition of negro idleness in this vicinity. Out of several hundred we have had two or three good negro workers. The majority of the rest were wholly undisciplined, and irresponsible, and generally dishonest."

From this we see that it is not so much color discrimination as actual lack of efficiency that places the northern negro where he is industrially.

Perhaps no life in the world requires as much brain and muscle of all classes as that of the northern cities of the United States. In such circumstances the negro naturally followed the lines of least resistance, and is serving the white population in the capacity of porters, waiters, hackmen, etc.

In northern cities, where the negro population is large, skilled labor unions have begun to show hostility toward them, even though there is no rule against their admission.

Illiteracy of the negro is discussed on page 40. The requirement, however, for passing such an examination is very low, especially before a census reporter, who is usually in a hurry. The requirement is reading and writing. Illiteracy in the race, as a whole, is gradually decreasing, but a large majority of literates are found among the mulattoes, and those who live in cities. The masses of negroes living in the rural districts of the South are for the most part illiterate.

CHAPTER VI.

AMALGAMATION IS GRADUALLY INCREASING.

The most serious handicap which our present generation of the Anglo-African has to carry, and one seldom thought of by those who are working for his salvation, is his lack of family antecedents. He belongs to the innominate; to the grand army of cyphers. In these days of egoism, when every man who is proud of himself is studying to trace his lineage, the black man is absolutely without recourse. This disability was felt even in slave times, before the war, and at that time high-class servitors, with ambition and ideas of their own personal consequence, were fain to call themselves by the names of their masters, especially when to the manor born; and they ranked in importance among their fellows, as well as among the white people themselves, according to the social status of their households. In these crucial days, when credentials are indispensable and references are required, where or how can the unfortunate black man come in? This is the misery of it, to him, and the most devoted of his friends cannot help him establish a pedigree.

In continental United States about one-fourth of the negro population are of mixed blood, while in Cuba one-half and in Porto Rico five-sixths have been so classed.

The census statistics and observation all through the southern states reveal most emphatically the fact that amalgamation is being effected to a considerable degree.

One cannot go down the streets of Washington, D. C., without seeing on almost every street car and almost every street mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons; it is frequently hard to tell which. They themselves do not always know.

The same is true of New Orleans and most all the other large cities of the South.

When children are born to mulattoes in this country, especially in the northern states, they are usually a few shades lighter than their parents. White blood predominates in the United States, and the tendency is toward a lighter color than that of the native African. So, without amalgamation with the Anglo-Saxon race, the negro of North America may in time acquire a considerably lighter color.

The increase in mulatto to total population is shown in the accompanying table:

CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES	1890	1870	1860	1850	PERCENT MULATTO TO TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION				
					1900	1890	1870	1860	1850
Negro population	7,474,040	4,880,009	4,441,830	3,638,808					
Mulatto	1,132,060	548,049	588,363	405,751	25	15.2	12	13	11.2

18.5

The census reporters experienced so much difficulty in trying to distinguish the mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, etc., from whites that in 1900 they gave it up in discouragement. It can, therefore, be only estimated that one-fourth of the negro population of the country bear evidence of an admixture of blood. This admixture was found by the enumerators to be more prevalent in sections where the proportion of negroes to whites is smallest, and least prevalent where the proportion of negroes to whites is largest.

As one passes from the great cotton-growing states between South Carolina and Texas toward the north, the proportion of mulattoes among the negroes as a rule increases.

Rank of States and Territories in order of increasing per cent mulatto in total negro population 1890, 1870, 1860 and 1850:

STATE OR TERRITORY HAVING AT LEAST 1,000 NEGROES IN 1850	Rank in Order of Increasing Per Cent Mulatto in Total Negro Population				Per Cent Negro in Total Popu- lation, 1890
	1890	1870	1860	1850	
South Carolina.....	1	1	1	1	59.9
Georgia	2	2	3	2	46.7
Alabama	3	3	2	4	44.8
Mississippi.....	4	8	4	3	57.6
Florida.....	5	12	5	6	42.4
Delaware.....	6	6	11	5	16.9
Arkansas.....	7	7	7	12	27.4
Texas.....	8	10	10	11	21.8
North Carolina	9	5	6	8	34.7
New Jersey.....	10	11	9	15	3.3
Maryland	11	13	12	10	20.7
Louisiana	12	16	8	9	50.0
Tennessee.....	13	4	13	7	24.4
Virginia.....	14	14	15	14	38.4
Kentucky.....	15	19	17	13	14.4
New York.....	16	9	14	17	1.2
Missouri.....	17	15	16	16	5.6
Pennsylvania	18	18	21	21	2.1
Connecticut.....	19	22	18	19	1.6
District of Columbia.....	20	17	22	22	32.8
Rhode Island.....	21	20	19	18	2.1
Illinois.....	22	21	24	25	1.5
Indiana.....	23	24	25	26	2.1
Massachusetts.....	24	25	20	20	1.0
Ohio.....	25	23	23	27	2.4
Michigan	26	27	27	24	0.7
Maine.....	27	26	26	23	0.2

Before the Civil War the field hands in the cotton-growing regions of the South associated with the whites much less intimately than the house servants, and the latter class much more frequently than the former included a perceptible strain of white blood. Away from the cotton-growing area the difference was less, but in the border states no small proportion of the slaves in the cities, many of them belonging to the class of household slaves, were infused with white blood.

No legal intermarriages between the races existed during slavery times, and yet there was a widespread admixture of blood. Concubinage was a common practice. A mulatto was worth more money than a full-blood negro, because he was more intelligent. He could learn more readily and do more complicated work. He was always sought for at the slave sales by traders, and consequently as many mulatto children as possible were raised.

They were at that time infused with some of the best blood of the South, hence the intelligence of some of the foremost of their race. It is to this custom that the mulattoes owe their origin.

The mulattoes thus raised have for the most part been educated by their white fathers. Wilberforce College, the oldest negro institution of learning in the United States, founded in 1856, was largely supported in slavery times by southern white men who were fathers of mulatto children.

Those practices of slavery times have not ceased yet. Intermarriage between the two races is forbidden by law in all of the southern states, and also the following northern and western states: Delaware, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, California and Oregon. In all of the remaining northern and western states intermarriage is lawful. Such laws have meant little or nothing so far as they affect the problem of amalgamation.

In Delaware, Maryland and the Virginias there are not a few white men living with mulatto women, chiefly in rural districts, and raising families unmolested. Occasionally, though very rarely, white women thus make homes for negro men. The most pitiful case of this kind that has ever been brought to my attention is in Harford county, Maryland. A white girl was rescued from drowning by a full-blooded negro, and the latter took advantage of her gratitude at the time and obtained her consent to live with him. He was a day laborer a part of the time and fished or did nothing the remainder of the time. They now have fourteen children, varying in color from light yellow to dark brown, with a varying combination of white and negro features. They live in a two-room house eight miles from the nearest railroad station, and about a mile from the nearest public road. She never goes to town or to call on a neighbor, and when anyone calls at the house she either

remains out of sight or draws a bonnet down over her eyes. Her folks have frequently asked her to return to them, but she says she doesn't want to leave the children.

While such cases of white women living with negro men are the extreme exception, the negro women as a rule exert every possible influence to induce white men to cohabit with them.

I have known them to make repeated advances to business men and college boys with such intentions. A college student of a southern college who fed some horses morning and evening for my neighbor noticed the negro servant girl come out to the barn almost every time he went there for over two months. He told me he would shoot her rather than touch her.

Many men, however, who have been raised in the South or near Indian reservations in the West have become so accustomed to practices that have existed in those sections ever since the advent of the negro to our country, or the associations of the cowboys with Indian women, that they do not regard it as do the people of other sections—barbarous.

In the states south of the Virginias a custom called "miscegenation," a system of concubinage, is very prevalent in the cities. Many white men, sometimes prominent in business, have mulatto as well as white families. The following statement by Rev. J. A. Rice, of the Court Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Montgomery, Alabama, represents an average condition in the majority of the large cities of the south. Dr. Rice made this statement in his pulpit about a year ago:

"There are in the city of Montgomery about four hundred negro women supported by white men."

This does not represent a condition of mere vice. Most of these women are comfortably provided for and have families of children.

Almost invariably the negro concubines of white men are received in the negro churches and among the negroes generally with honor. They are the most intelligent of negro women, have the best homes, and more money to contribute to charitable purposes. They are proud of their light-colored children, and generally consider themselves more fortunate than their relatives who have black children and less money to spend.

The better classes in several states have begun to organize against the present practice of concubinage. At Francisville, Louisiana, in May, 1907, a meeting was called to organize against what one of the speakers, Mr. Wickliffe, termed the "yellow peril" of the South. He said, in part:

"Everyone familiar with conditions in our midst knows that the enormous increase in persons of mixed blood is due to men of the white race openly keeping negro women as concubines."

About this time another similar meeting was held at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and anti-miscegenation leagues formed at each place.

The class of white men who live with or retain negro concubines at the present time are as a whole of a lower class than those of slavery times, or even five years ago. As the practice is abandoned by the better classes, the mulatto offspring are naturally of a lower sort.

The home life of the masses of negroes is so primitive that in their crowded condition privacy and decency are almost unknown. The more comely and intelligent negro girls are therefore a prey not only for white men, but, like all of their sex, are more of a prey for men of their own race.

From such circumstances and examples it is no wonder that the negroes as soon as they were free and placed on a social equality began to assault white women.

The only difference now between the relations of the men of both races to the women of their opposite race is that in one practice, "miscegenation," harmony exists, and there is more enthusiasm shown on the part of the negro women than the white men; while the other practice, assault and rape, embodies the most loathsome crime. Although no excuse can be offered for concubinage in any form, the concubines are treated like queens as compared with the barbarous, dastardly, beastly, fiendish manner in which the negro men assault pure, innocent white girls at almost every opportunity. The southern white farmers of many rural districts leave their houses with apprehension in the morning, and thank Providence when they return from their work in the evening to find all well with the women folks of their home. Many of them either carry revolvers or keep a shotgun hanging over the door.

In New Orleans and vicinity the Frenchmen and negro women have introduced the so-called creole negro class (French negroes), which constitutes a majority of the negro population of that city. Besides English, they speak a French dialect. From these two classes the large majority of prisoners of the jails and penitentiary are drawn. These Frenchmen have for the most part only common names. Those having long names similar to that of Helie de Sagan, Boni de Castellane, Alfonso Emanuel Bernard, Gaston de Luines d'Ailly, Duc de Piquigny, etc., frequently marry American girls who have inherited more money than brains.

If these girls could see their future relatives in the creole role in New Orleans they might think twice before marrying such relics of royalty.

The Mayor of New Orleans recently said:

"If it were not for the negroes and creoles we officers would have nothing to do; we would be out of a job."

It has become proverbial that New Orleans practices the Ten Commandments with the "nots" omitted.

It is a common occurrence there for an officer to shoot a negro for resisting arrest. I once saw this done in St. Louis. A negro merely saw a policeman coming and ran down an alley. The policeman told him to halt, and, as he continued to run, the policeman shot him.

A young mulatto, speaking on the subject recently, said:

"They have given us their blood, and now they resent our response to the same ambitions that they have. They have given us fighting blood and expect us not to struggle."

While many of the mulattoes hold themselves aloof from the black negroes, marry only among themselves, and in many cities through the North and South have separate churches, yet as a whole they do not care to associate with the whites, but rather form an intermediate class. This attitude is due to the fact that they are ostracised from white society if even a trace of negro blood is perceptible.

The most remarkable instance of this kind on record is that of Miss Cecelia Johnson, who, in 1906, was a leader in her class in the Chicago University, a member of the Pi Delta Phi Society and president of the Englewood House, an exclusive girls' club. When it became known that she possessed negro blood she was shunned by most of her former white friends.

A few years ago a dark-complected, black-eyed girl graduated from Vassar College, and by merest incident it was discovered at commencement that she was part negro.

Judge Robert H. Terrell, of the subdistrict court, District of Columbia, and his wife, a member of the school board of Washington, contain almost an imperceptible inkling of negro blood. While on a recent tour through Virginia I saw three white children coming from a negro school with colored children. I afterwards saw their parents, and could only detect a trace of negro blood in their father. Their mother, although an octoroon, would never be suspicioned as other than white. Their children, however, although as white as caucasians, were compelled to attend the negro school.

And so I might enumerate hundreds of similar cases if space would permit.

This class of people are placed in the most critical social strata imaginable—neither black nor white, and yet both.

Like Booker T. Washington and Professor DuBois, they cling to the negro side because of the prejudice that white people have forced upon them. In case of race riot, however, the mulattoes, siding with negroes, lending keener wits and higher intelligence, cause more trouble.

Occasionally some of the octoroons, or those containing still less negro blood, "go over to white," or "cross the line," and pass for white

people, but they dare not openly associate with their colored relatives.

In such cases the negro relatives suppress the facts with apparent glee, as though the negro thus got even with the dominant white man.

Some of the mulattoes "cross the line" by declaring themselves Mexican, Spanish, French or Armenian. The creole negroes of Louisiana, and, in fact, most of the mulattoes, have little difficulty in thus passing unchallenged among the white people, where, as negroes, they would be instantly ostracised. No one can estimate the number who have thus "gone over to white," but wherever there is an advantage to be gained in a business or social way the practice continues. Not long ago an octoroon of New York, who holds a prominent political appointment under the state government, entered a hotel in Baltimore, and, as the negro porter took his suit case, he stared at him and then said: "Hello, Bob, let me carry your satchel; I won't give you away." While at dinner in a hotel in Washington, D. C., a few days ago, I mentioned the fact that that was the day on which Senator Foraker was to make his speech in defense of the negro soldiers of Brownsville. A dark-complected gentleman sitting at my right looked uneasy, but said nothing. A gentleman from Alabama, sitting at the same table, exclaimed: "Foraker is a fool and ought to be hung! He is a nigger in a white skin!" I afterwards learned that the dark-complected man at my right was an octoroon.

In this unpleasant, almost tragic, state of existence mulattoes would probably succumb to prejudice-feelings were it not for the care-free, light-heartedness inherited from their negro ancestors.

The average white man is worried almost desperate upon loss of position or decline in business, while the average negro without a cent in his possession, and not knowing where his next meal is to come from, will join his comrades in a hearty laugh and jig-dance on any street corner or cross road. As Ray Stannard Baker says: "It is this element of light-heartedness, indeed, that accounts in no small degree for the survival of the negro in this country."

While an admixture of white blood has proved advantageous to the negro, it is naturally a detriment to the white race. As near as can be estimated, about 28 per cent of the negroes of the United States have white blood in their veins. Among these we find the more intelligent class of negroes, foremost among whom are Booker T. Washington, Dr. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, Charles W. Chesnutt, William Stanley Wraithwaite, H. O. Tanner, Judge Terrell and his wife. Messrs. Chestnutt and Wraithwaite are the foremost literary men, and Mr. Tanner the foremost painter of his race. Mrs. Terrell is a member of the school board of Washington, D. C.

Professor Keane says: "No full-blooded negro has ever distinguished himself."

Thus far I have spoken only of the negro in general. Let us now consider the educated class and one of the sources from which the country looks for his improvement.

CHAPTER VII.

"If we work upon marble, it will perish; if we work upon brass, time will efface it; if we rear temples, they will crumble into dust; but if we work upon immortal minds, we engrave on those tablets something that will brighten to all eternity."—*Daniel Webster.*

THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In his first message to the first Congress, Washington included this paragraph:

"Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionately essential."

That distinguished French writer, Monseigneur Dupenloup, beautifully says:

"That work of the educator bears a likeness to the work of the Creator. If he does not create from nothingness, he draws from slumber and lethargy the benumbed faculties, he gives life and movement and action to an existence yet imperfect. In this light, an intellectual, moral and religious education is the highest possible human work. It is the continuation of the highest and noblest work of divinity, the creation of souls."

On July 4th, 1881, Booker Taliaferro Washington, mulatto, who had been born in slavery, and whose first name was given as a nickname on account of his fondness for books, founded the Normal Industrial Institute, of Tuskegee, Alabama. Booker Washington graduated from the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, for colored persons, at Hampton, Virginia, in 1875; received his A. M. at Harvard, 1896, and LL.D. at Dartmouth, in 1901.

After graduating at Hampton he taught in that institution until he founded the institute at Tuskegee and became its principal. Since then he has written "Up From Slavery," "Sowing and Reaping," "Future of American Negro," "Character Building," "Story of My Life," "Working With Hands," "Tuskegee and Its People," and a few later books.



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND HIS SECRETARY EMMETT J. SCOTT

In speaking of work at Tuskegee, Mr. Washington says:

"It is comparatively easy to build up wornout soil and make it productive. It is infinitely harder to change a state of mind. To change ingrained habits and customs of a community or a people is a task requiring time and patience. Before the school at Tuskegee was started I spent a month traveling about the country getting acquainted with the people. What I discovered, discouraging as it appeared at the time, was after all what might have been expected. Some of the people I met were living practically in the same places where they or their fathers or mothers had formerly been slaves. The change which freedom had brought to them, important as it was for them potentially, had made very little practical difference in their lives. Their methods of work, their customs and habits of thought had remained to all intents and purposes what they had been before emancipation. In some cases where they had used their freedom to get something better the results were often at once ludicrous and pathetic. In the plantation districts I found large families, including the visitors, when any appeared, living and sleeping in a single room. I found them living on fat pork and cornbread, and yet not infrequently I discovered in these cabins sewing machines which no one knew how to use, which had cost as much as \$60.00, or showy clocks which had cost as much as \$10.00 or \$12.00, but which never told the time. I remember a cabin where there was but one fork on the table for the use of five members of the family and myself, while in the opposite corner was an organ for which the family was paying \$60.00 in monthly installments. The truth that forced itself upon me was that these people needed not only book learning, but knowledge of how to live; they needed to know how to cultivate the soil, to husband their resources, to buy land and build houses, and make the most of their opportunities.

"The same thing was true of students who applied for entrance at the school. Many had themselves been teachers. Others had picked up various scraps of learning here and there, of which they were, of course, very proud. Some had studied many books. But their knowledge was, in many cases, regarded as a toy or an ornament.

"That is to say, they perceived only a slight connection between education and work. Education was rather a device for escaping work. Among the institutions in which some had been trained a feeling prevailed that it was beneath the dignity of an institution of learning to give time and attention to the industries. I remember cases where students who were thinking of entering the school at Tuskegee were warned that it would disgrace them to enter a 'working school,' or a 'school for poor boys and girls.'

"During the first two or three years of the school I received constant requests from parents, and from the students themselves, that only book studies be given, and there were not a few students who, if they did work, preferred not to be seen working.

"It was not long before the school acquired a small tract of land. The first live stock of which it became possessed was an old blind mule, the gift of a white man living in the neighborhood. This represented the capital of the school.

"At the close of the school year, in May, 1905, it owned 2,000 acres of land and 83 buildings, large and small, used as dwellings, dormitories, classrooms, shops and barns, which, together with the equipment, live stock, stock in trade and other personal property, were valued at \$831,895.32. This does not include 22,000 acres of public land remaining unsold from the 25,000 granted by Congress, valued at \$135,000, nor the endowment fund, which amounted January 1, 1906, to \$1,275,664."

In his report on the financial condition of the school for the year ending May 31, 1907, Mr. Washington says:

"Since my last annual report, \$256,154.39 have been added to the endowment fund, increasing it to \$1,494,021.64.

"The value of the school property as represented in buildings, land, equipment, etc., not counting endowment, is now placed at \$917,237.60.

"The largest single gift that has come to us during the year is that of \$231,072.00, left as a bequest by the late Mr. Albert Wilcox, of New York city. The amount has been added to the endowment fund.

"During the year 1904-5 there were enrolled in the regular normal and industrial departments 1,504 students—1,000 young men and 504 young women—an average attendance of 1,224.

"In 1906 a negro farmers' newspaper was established at Tuskegee and has a wide circulation among the negroes of the south. This is probably the first local newspaper devoting itself exclusively to the affairs of a single locality ever printed and published in the interest of a negro farming community.

"It aims to take account of every effort for progress and improvement made by an individual or a community in the county. The building of a new school house in a community or the purchase of a mule by some individual in that community is an item of general interest.

"Six thousand students have come for a longer or shorter time under the influence of the institution during the past twenty-five years. So far as I have been able to learn, not one of the *graduates* has been convicted of a crime, and less than 10 per cent of these are failures in the occupations which they have adopted.—*Twenty-five Years of Tuskegee*.

"A large number of race interests that for one reason or another seem to center at Tuskegee Institute add considerably to the expense of conducting the institution.

"Close examination will show, I think, that in a large sense these outside movements are educational and have a race-building value. Among them are the Tuskegee Negro Conference, with its numerous branches; the National Negro Business League, with over 400 branches, and the Colored Department of the Alabama State Fair, as well as other racial matters, which make necessary an enormous correspondence."

The average colored man sees money only once a year—when he sells his cotton. Booker T. Washington advised raising chickens and vegetables, and, having something to sell, so as to get used to handling money all the year, and then not to spend it for candy, red-wheeled buggies, organs, accordions, banjos, and cheap sewing machines.

Booker Washington further states in "Negro Self-Help":

"A pup gets his eyes open in nine days, but it took us niggahs thirty-nine years from 'mancipation to get our eyes open."

"The colored people support the liquor dispensaries. We say, 'The Lord blesses these white people,' while it is really the colored people who bless them by buying whiskey of them. The white man will live in a big house with ten rooms, well furnished, while the colored man lives in the bare, one-roomed cabin, all because the colored man spends his nickles, dimes, and quarters buying beer and whiskey from the white man. But that is not the right kind of a blessing."

Mr. Scott Bond, a negro of Crittenden, Arkansas, is quoted in the same pamphlet in an address before a Tuskegee Negro Conference as follows :

"Give a horse clover and a warm stable, and you can't drive that animal away. Treat your sons properly, and they'll behave as well as a horse. Too many negroes live like hogs! Yes, sir, like hogs! The girls don't know how to sweep a room; and yet they want to ride in first-class cars, with clean people. God forbid!"

Besides the Tuskegee Institute, which is the largest and most important negro school in the world, there are at present, according to the Government Bureau of Education, 155 other industrial schools in the United States for negroes (besides 254 high schools and secondary schools).

We have spent about \$800,000,000 on negro education since the war.

The people of Alabama in framing their laws have been especially scrupulous in giving the colored race these advantages, and during the last thirty years the southern states have expended \$115,954,299 for negro education.

The South is at present expending \$4,000,000 annually to educate the negro.

Among their most important industrial schools are the following: Alabama Agricultural and Mechanic Arts College for Negroes, at Normal, Alabama; Delaware State College for Colored Students, at Dover; Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons, Frankfort, Kentucky; Princess Anne Academy for Colored Persons, Princess Anne, Maryland; the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, Greensboro, N. C.; the Colored Normal Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina, Orangeburg, S. C.; Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia, and West Virginia Colored Institute, at Institute, W. Va.

In general the course of instruction given at these institutions is as follows:

English Language.
Mathematics.
Political Economy.
Domestic Economy—sewing, cooking, household management.
Drawing.
Bookkeeping.
Music.
Carpenter and Blacksmithing.
Bricklaying.
Dairying.
Harness-making.
Shoemaking.
Bible Training.

President Janson of the Delaware College gives a course which he calls "Mental and Moral Science."

During the school year of 1905-6 there were 7,663 negro boys and 13,959 negro girls studying industrial branches in these schools.

In the secondary and higher schools for colored people there were 1,730 boys and 177 girls studying professional courses.

Exclusive of the industrial, there were 1,429 male teachers and 2,648 female teachers in the public high and secondary higher schools for colored people.

Including those attending public schools, there were in the Continental United States 1,096,734 negroes attending school during the census year of 1900.



NEGRO FARMING IN THE SOUTH



CHAPTER VIII.

STATISTICS OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES.

We will now turn to the latest census statistics, Bulletin 8, of the United States Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., and see how freedom, educational advantages, and association with the Anglo-Saxon race has affected the negro.

Occupation	1900	1890	Increase 1890 to 1900	Per Cent
Continental U. S., all occupations	3,992,337	3,073,164	919,173	29.9
Agricultural laborers	1,344,125	1,106,728	237,397	21.5
Farmers, planters and overseers.....	757,822	590,666	167,156	28.3
Laborers (not specified)	545,935	349,002	196,933	56.4
Servants and waiters.....	465,734	401,215	64,519	16.1
Launderers and laundresses	220,104	152,684	66,420	43.2
Draymen, hackmen and teamsters	67,585	43,963	23,622	53.7
Steam railroad employes.....	55,327	47,548	7,779	16.4
Miners and quarrymen	36,361	19,007	17,554	92.4
Saw and planing mill employes	33,266	17,276	15,990	92.6
Porters and helpers	28,977	11,694	17,283	147.8
Teachers and college instructors	21,267	15,100	6,167	40.8
Carpenters and joiners.....	21,113	22,581	1,468	x6.5
Barbers and hairdressers.....	18,942	17,480	2,462	14.1
Nurses and midwives.....	19,431	5,213	14,218	272.7
Clergymen	15,582	12,159	3,369	27.7
Tobacco and cigar factory	15,349	15,004	0,345	2.3
Hostlers.....	14,496	10,500	3,996	38.1
Masons.....	14,386	9,760	4,626	47.4
Dressmakers.....	12,569	7,586	4,983	65.7
Iron and steel workers.....	12,327	6,579	5,748	87.4
Seamstresses.....	11,537	11,846	309	x2.6
Janitors and saxons.....	11,536	5,945	5,591	94.0
Housekeepers and stewards	10,596	0,248	1,348	14.6
Fishermen and oystermen	10,427	10,071	356	3.5
Blacksmiths	10,100	10,988	888	x8.1

x decrease

A glance at this table shows us that the negro is pre-eminently a servant, and the increase in porters, 147.8 per cent, janitors. 94.0 per cent, general laborers 56.0 per cent, and nurses 272.0 per cent, between 1890 and 1900, as against the smaller per cent of increase in other lines of work, indicates progress along manual labor rather than intellectual lines.

The majority of those who attend the previously mentioned schools and colleges obtain more or less knowledge, which, when rightly applied, is of considerable service to them. The few who really become edu-

cated are materially improved by it. Unfortunately, however, the masses of the negroes of the South have hardly been influenced by education.

A large per cent of almost every other nationality that comes to America are thrifty, and thousands of instances could be cited where they have come here with less than a hundred dollars, and are to-day either millionaires or at least wealthy.

Nothing of this kind can be said of the negro.

In the entire negro population of the Continental United States, 8,333,994, there are only 757,822 farmers, planters and overseers combined. Of the remaining 7,576,172, only 3,234,515 are engaged in gainful occupations. This leaves 4,341,657 unemployed. Of these there are 2,418,413 children, and 261,403 negroes over 65 years old. Eliminating these, we have 1,661,841 unemployed. Of those who have employment, 1,159,900 are unemployed a part of each year.

Where the negro does engage in farming for himself he is pre-eminently a small farmer, cultivating 50 acres where the white farmer has 160.

There is some evidence of a slight separation between the two races in the South since 1890, the center of population for southern negroes being 79 miles from that for southern whites in 1890 and 94 miles in 1900.

The rate of increase of negroes declined steadily through the nineteenth century.

In the southern states the increase of the negroes in each decade between 1800 and 1840 was more rapid than that of the whites; since 1840 it has been less rapid. Between 1860 and 1900 southern negroes increased 93.4 per cent and southern whites 134.9 per cent. In the country districts of the South, excluding the population of the 242 cities which had at least 2,500 inhabitants, both in 1890 and in 1900, the negroes increased, 1890 to 1900, 16.4 per cent; in the 242 southern cities, as a whole, they increased 21.7 per cent. Their increase in the country districts was about two-thirds as rapid as that of the whites in the same area; their increase in southern cities was nearly five-sixths as fast as that of the whites in the same cities.

In the largest southern cities, that is the five having at least 100,000 inhabitants, in 1900, the negro population increased 25.8 per cent, 1890 to 1900; the white population of the same cities increased only 20.8 per cent. This is the only group of southern cities in which the rate of increase of negro population exceeded that of the whites. In the 38 cities of this class in Continental United States the per cent of increase, 1890 to 1900, was 38 for negroes and 32.7 for whites.



Illiteracy among negroes is about seven times as common as among whites, and this ratio between the races has not altered materially in the last ten years.

Illiteracy among southern negroes is more than four times that among southern whites, and much more prevalent in rural districts than in cities. Thus in the southern states nearly one-half (49.8 per cent) of the negroes at least 10 years of age living outside cities having 25,000 or more inhabitants are illiterate. In the cities, however, less than one-third (31.5 per cent) of the negroes are illiterate. Here they come in closer contact with the whites.

The per cent of negro children who attend high schools in cities, especially northern cities, is much larger than it is in rural districts of the south.

The prevalence of illiteracy in the two races is shown in the following tables:

Race, Continental U. S.	1900	1890	Number Illiterate		Percent Illiterate	
			1900	1890	1900	1890
White Population	51,250,918	41,931,074	3,200,746	3,212,574	6.2	7.7
Negro	6,415,891	5,328,972	2,853,194	3,042,668	44.5	57.1
South Atlantic and South Central Divisions						
White Population	12,020,539	9,456,368	1,401,273	1,412,983	11.7	14.9
Negro	5,664,975	4,751,763	2,717,606	2,882,216	48.0	60.7

When we consider that there are included in these tables the thousands of illiterate foreign whites who migrate to the United States every year, and bear in mind that there are as many schools for negroes as for whites in the south in proportion to their population, and that the schools of the northern and western states admit the negro on an equal basis with the whites, we can readily see that to maintain their standard the whites have a much greater proportion of illiteracy to overcome than do the negroes.

The following table will show the per cent of increase of criminals in the United States for both races:

Prisoners in County Jails, 1890			
Native White			
Total	Percent	Literate	Illiterate
9,794	.013	92.9	4.4

Prisoners in County Jails, 1890					
Negro					
Total	Percent	Literate %	Illiterate %	Pure	Mixed
5,497	.078	62.1	31.4	4,539	958

To avoid obtaining an erroneous idea from this table it is necessary to note distinction between mere literacy and education.

Educated negroes are the least criminal.

Prisoners in Penitentiaries						
White			Negro			
1900	23,095	.03%	14,267	.2%	10,884	3,383
1904	86,833	.108 %	23,698	.263%	

	Percent Colored among prisoners committed during 1904	Percent Colored in general population
Continental U. S.	16.4.....	12.1.....
North Atlantic Division.....	6.9.....	1.9.....
South Atlantic Division.....	64.4.....	35.8.....
North Central Division.....	13.4.....	2.1.....
South Central Division.....	69.2.....	30.3.....
Western Central Division....	8.3.....	5.3.....

These figures would be changed materially if the large number of negro criminals of the southern states were included who never reach a prison, but who are lynched by mob.

Three-tenths of the negroes are found in the southern South Atlantic states, nearly three-tenths more in the eastern South Central, and nearly two-tenths in the western South Central. These three regions contain over three-fourths (77.7 per cent) of the entire negro population of the United States. The Western states and the New England states have the smallest number, only 1 per cent of the negroes being found in these regions, which contain 12.8 per cent of the total population.

State	1900		
	Native White	Negro	Total Including Foreign Whites
Maine.....	692,226	1,319	694,466
New Hampshire.....	410,791	662	411,588
Vermont.....	342,771	826	243,641
Massachusetts.....	2,769,764	31,974	2,805,346
Rhode Island.....	419,050	9,092	428,556
Connecticut.....	892,424	15,226	908,420
New York.....	7,156,881	90,232	7,268,294
New Jersey.....	1,812,317	69,844	1,883,669
Pennsylvania.....	6,141,664	156,845	6,302,315
Maryland.....	952,424	335,064	1,188,044
Delaware.....	153,977	30,697	184,735
Virginia.....	1,192,855	660,722	1,854,184
West Virginia.....	915,233	43,499	958,800
North Carolina.....	1,263,603	624,469	1,893,810
South Carolina.....	557,807	782,321	1,340,316
Georgia.....	1,181,294	1,034,813	2,216,331
Florida.....	279,333	230,730	528,542
Alabama.....	1,001,152	827,307	1,828,497
Mississippi.....	641,200	907,630	1,551,270
Kentucky.....	1,862,309	284,706	2,107,174
Tennessee.....	1,540,186	480,243	2,020,616
Ohio.....	4,060,204	96,901	4,157,545
Indiana.....	2,458,502	57,505	2,516,462
Illinois.....	4,734,873	85,078	4,821,550
Michigan.....	2,398,563	15,816	2,420,982
Wisconsin.....	2,057,911	2,542	2,069,042
Minnesota.....	1,737,036	4,959	1,751,394
Iowa.....	2,218,667	12,693	2,231,853
Missouri.....	2,944,843	161,234	3,106,665
Arkansas.....	944,580	336,856	1,315,564
Louisiana.....	729,612	650,840	1,381,625
Texas.....	2,426,669	620,722	3,048,710
Oklahoma.....	367,524	18,831	398,331
Kansas.....	1,416,319	32,003	1,470,495
Nebraska.....	1,056,526	6,269	1,066,300
South Dakota.....	380,714	465	401,570
North Dakota.....	311,712	286	319,146
Montana.....	226,283	1,523	243,329
Idaho.....	154,495	293	161,772
Wyoming.....	89,051	940	92,531
Utah.....	272,465	672	276,749
Colorado.....	529,046	8,570	539,700
New Mexico.....	180,207	1,610	195,310
Arizona.....	92,903	1,848	222,931
Nevada.....	35,405	134	42,335
California.....	1,402,727	11,045	1,485,053
Oregon.....	394,582	1,105	413,536
Washington.....	496,304	2,514	518,103
Alaska.....	30,493	166	63,592

More than three-tenths of the entire negro population of the country are living in the three adjoining states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. These, together with the adjacent Atlantic coast states of Virginia and North and South Carolina, and the two gulf states of Louisiana and Texas, are the only states each having over half a million negroes in 1900. Taken together, these eight states contain nearly seven-tenths of all of the negroes in the country. The states with the smallest number of negroes are, as a rule, those at the greatest distance from these states. Thus there are nineteen of the fifty states and

territories which have less than 10,000 negroes each, and contain together less than two two-hundredths of the negro population of the United States, although having more than one-eighth of the total population.

There are 55 counties in the United States in each of which at least three-fourths of the population are negroes; 19 in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, 8 in Louisiana, 5 in Arkansas, 5 in Georgia, 4 in South Carolina, 2 in Florida, and 1 in Virginia. This shows clearly that the great region of predominant negro population lies along the lower Mississippi, where 29 of these 55 counties are situated.

In the north and west the negro is almost as pre-eminently a denizen of cities as in the south he is a denizen of country districts. In the north and west seven-tenths of the negroes and only half the whites live in cities having at least 2,500 inhabitants. The difference is most marked in cities having at least 100,000 inhabitants. Such cities include less than one-fourth of the whites and more than one-third of the negroes.

Cities of the United States having over 30,000 negroes:

Cities of the United States having over 30,000 negroes.

Washington.....	86,702
Baltimore.....	79,258
New Orleans.....	77,714
Philadelphia.....	62,613
New York.....	60,666
Memphis.....	49,910
Louisville.....	39,139
Atlanta.....	35,727
St. Louis.....	35,516
Richmond.....	32,230
Chicago.....	30,150
Nashville.....	30,044

The following table shows the increase of negroes and of whites in the 38 cities of the United States having at least 100,000 inhabitants in 1900 and in the rest of the country:

Continental United States 38 Cities	Population		Increase of Popula- tion, 1890 to 1900	
	1900	1890	Number	Per Cent
Negro	668,254	484,346	183,908	38.0
White	13,507,327	10,181,905	3,325,422	32.7
Remainder of Country				
Negro	8,165,740	7,004,330	1,161,410	16.6
White	53,301,869	44,919,353	8,382,516	18.7

These figures show that in the large cities of the country, as a whole, negroes are increasing at a somewhat higher rate than whites. This is the more noteworthy, both because in the country, as a whole, and in the country outside these cities, the increase of negroes is somewhat slower than that of whites, and, also, because 33 of these 38 large cities lie outside of the southern states, in which nearly nine-tenths of the negroes live, so that the rapid increase of their negro population must involve, in many cases, long-distance migration. This has also to a great extent been due to the importation of negro laborers by large manufacturing firms of the northern cities. When discharged by such firms they remain in the north. The following is an example of negro migration: On August 16, 1893, Rev. J. F. Davidson (colored) arrived in Tacoma, Washington, from New Orleans with 25 negroes for the purpose of colonization.

The negro race has a much larger proportion of children than the white race. Their death rate is also much higher, as shown by the following table:

Registration Area, 1900			
Race	Population	Number of Deaths	Death Rate
White	27,555,800	475,640	17.3
Negro	1,180,546	35,710	30.2

In Continental United States, 4,394 negro children under 15 years of age, over five-sixths of them girls, were reported as married. Excluding the children under 15 years of age, there were, in 1900, 53 per cent of the negro population of the United States reported married and 55.9 per cent of the white population reported married.

From these reliable statistics it is obvious that—

1. The occupation of the negro has varied only in a small degree during the past forty years.
2. Their birth rate and death rate is higher.
3. Illiteracy is gradually being overcome by the more progressive.
4. Amalgamation is gradually taking place between the two races.
5. The percentage of crimes among negroes continues to increase.
6. The center of the negro population remains in the South, and over nine-tenths of the colored population of the United States has remained in the southern states.

Upon careful consideration one could only expect these natural results.

CHAPTER IX.

OCCUPATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

1. The negro as a race is naturally indolent. They inherited this trait, and we will not criticise them for being so. We will merely comment on it in connection with other characteristics. In the northern and western states, where the percentage of negroes is small, they are more progressive than in the southern states. The negroes of the latter seem to prefer picking up coal along a railroad track, fishing, picking berries, or hunting all day for a rabbit or 'coon than to work steadily at any occupation.

From all I have been able to observe, comparatively few negroes work steadily the year around. The statistics show that of all those who have employment, there are on an average 1,159,900 unemployed a part of each year.

Permanent progress is only found in continued industry or employment, or in thrift and practice of moral obligations. This seems to be most lacking in the negro race.

Many of the southern whites employ negroes simply because they can get no one else. Their efficiency as day laborers is far below that of the whites, and far below that of slavery times. People of every southern state tell me that there is little choice between leaving their work undone and hiring average negro help. A few personal illustrations may serve to explain this statement. I employed at various times within a year eight different negro women and seven negro men. In every instance their work had to be looked over and in many cases done over after them. The women would burn clothes when ironing, leave corners dirty when scrubbing, or cleaning, waste more in the kitchen than their wages amounted to, accomplish about half as much as the average white person, and leave a pungent odor on every piece of clothing or material in the kitchen that would absorb it.

They seemed to regard their work in a subconscious state of mind most of the time.

When I left the men to saw wood they usually began about 10 o'clock A. M., and, although the weather was mild, being in October, they always built a fire by which to keep warm while sawing. Whenever any of their friends came along they stopped sawing, lit cigarettes, and talked for hours at a time. When pay-day came they were disap-



TYPICAL SOUTHERN NEGRO

pointed with the wages promised, saying that they received more at a previous place. I inquired at the place they mentioned, and the gentleman said he did not give them as much.

I know of several society women of Washington, D. C., who were in the habit of sending their negro girls out on the streets with their babies in their buggies until they discovered them in a dingy negro shanty being amused by a dozen or more shiny-faced youngsters or having no company at all. Some of them were left in such places for hours, when their parents thought they were enjoying fresh air.

The negro girls of one community in which we lived had a habit of carrying home every night a supply of food for their families or friends. They could not be induced to remain over night at the place where they worked, however comfortable the quarters prepared for them. They flocked to a settlement where they lived in poorly furnished, dirty houses, and from two to fourteen in a room. In this way they spread gossip and disease, and lived from the white people's tables. This way of living is common among negroes in all of the southern states.

In communities where negro house servants are employed few modern conveniences for facilitating work are to be found. The negroes use a scrub board and scrub brush, because they never heard of a washing machine or mop. They knead dough with their fists, for they never used a bread mixer. The white ladies who employ them do not realize the need of improved facilities, because they don't do the work themselves. Consequently, the most obsolete methods prevail where negro servants are employed exclusively. In other words, such people live in large, beautiful houses devoid of most of the conveniences of life.

A well-known colonel of Richmond, Virginia, recently learned that his negro servant was in the habit of carrying a plate of choice victuals up to her room every morning for her husband, who had no occupation other than to come in through the back door at that time, an early hour in the morning, before the family was up.

The colonel accordingly prepared a plate of pine tar, raw cornmeal and molasses, and with it met his servant carrying the usual plate of breakfast upstairs to her husband. He said: "Sally, I'll take it up this morning," and took it from her. He then set it away, sent her downstairs, and took the mixture he had prepared into the room where her husband was waiting. The negro looked at him and said: "Don't believe I'm hungry this morning, boss." The colonel pulled out a revolver, and, pointing it at him, replied: "Eat every bit of it, or I'll buttonhole you." He ate it without further protest, after which the colonel gave him a whipping with a little rawhide, kicked him out, and advised him never to return.

A president of a well-known southern university was paying his butcher bill at the end of a certain month in 1905, and noticed a charge of porterhouse steak in several places on the bill. Being unable to recall having purchased any such steak during that month, he asked his colored servant about it. The latter replied: "Oh, that was for my wife at home; she can't eat anything but porterhouse; her teeth are poor."

A negro deliveryman last September spilled three gallons of kerosene which I had ordered, and, after paying for the entire bill, I noticed the empty can. He promised to bring the kerosene next day, so I allowed him to keep the money. He put the money in his pocket, brought the kerosene the next day, made out another bill, and turned in both as unpaid. At the end of the month we were charged up with the entire six gallons on those two dates. His proprietor had never heard of the circumstance until I explained it.

The negro does not seem to be altogether responsible for his deeds. His head is undeveloped in the forehead where brain capacity is indicated, and strongly developed in the sensory points indicating lust passion.

The inherited instincts of sensuality and stealing are so pronounced in negroes that they are for the most part very religious, and at the same time frequently find the neighboring chicken roosts and water-melon patches after night.

Rev. Dr. Tucker said at the American Church Congress:

"I have known negroes to steal from each other in the midst of prayer-meeting, and rob hen roosts on the way home."

Sensuality seems to go hand in hand with religious superstition in the negro.

I have heard negroes trying to persuade others to accept religion, and a few minutes afterward swear in the most vile terms imaginable.

I witnessed a recent negro revival meeting in which the stovepipe was knocked down by the commotion of the shouting, jumping participants. The minister said: "Pick it up, Broder Jones, de Lawd won't let it burn yo." The brother negro addressed slowly picked the stovepipe up and dropped it a great deal quicker, exclaiming: "De hell he won't!"

Dr. Shufeldt says: "At southern negro camp-meetings unbridled lust is a common practice."

It is a pity that more of this general class of negroes do not attend one of the industrial schools, or practice Booker T. Washington's teachings.

As Mr. Washington says, their efficiency is frequently enhanced by the whiskey habit. When wages are high they need only work half as long to obtain enough spending money as when wages are low. Since

many of them require little more than that amount, high wages in such instances are a detriment. Drunkenness has been very prevalent among the southern negroes, and it was not uncommon before local option prevailed to see them half drunk while working.

There are still a few out-of-the-way places in local option districts where men may sneak away and obtain whiskey, but these are vanishing.

The individual, race, or nation is respected as it becomes self-respecting, and its advancement is assured when an impulse to become self-respecting is awakened. This impulse has not been very forcibly demonstrated among the negro race, as a whole, by the statistics or observation.

Many negroes have been employed in responsible positions, but comparatively few have retained them with any degree of success. In the various government departments I know of twelve negroes who hold positions as messengers and clerks. Some of them have been school teachers, and all have attended a high school or university. Not one of them can be depended upon to construct a correct sentence. They frequently do their work correctly, but whenever it involves much thinking it has to be looked over by others before being filed.

There are at present thirty-eight negroes on the police force in Washington, D. C.

I have also known negro policemen in Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Lincoln, and Denver. They are, on the whole, less active and courageous than the white police. They will arrest a boy or try to maintain order under ordinary circumstances, but in case of emergency, or real danger, they will avoid it, and allow an armed white man to escape every time rather than face his pistol. They render the best service among the negro districts of Washington, St. Louis, or any other city, for they understand their own race better.

Negroes were never known to rob a railroad train or commit a daring assault. Their crime usually consists of snatching a purse from or assaulting a lady.

CHAPTER X.

THE INFLUENCE OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON SHOULD EXTEND TO
LIBERIA.

Among the 1,666,799 people of mixed blood there is only one Booker T. Washington. Several others have risen to some degree of fame, for which they deserve credit, but none of them have ever approached him in genius, skill, or practical knowledge. This he has inherited from his white father. Compared to some of the presidents of our leading universities, such as Charles Eliot of Harvard, Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, J. G. Schurman of Cornell, Cyrus Northrop of Minnesota, E. Benjamin Andrews of Nebraska, and David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford, he is at the foot of the list.

He is, however, an exception to his race. He established and maintains the best negro school in the world. Unfortunately, he cannot reach the masses of his people. Great men may be picked from almost every race. An example of this was illustrated by Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, a Chinese student of Columbia University, who on February 28, 1908, debated with the Columbia team against Cornell and was instrumental in winning the debate.

Mr. Washington is shrewd enough to employ as instructors in his school only those who have a large proportion of white blood. His secretary, Emmett J. Scott; treasurer, Warren Logan, and other members of the faculty possess apparently only a trace of negro blood. These men Mr. Washington has selected from the best of the negro race in America, and they are doing all in their power to uplift the remainder of their race. In their best efforts, however, they are obviously far below the standard of the whites in education, as in other things. I will give two examples to illustrate this fact.

At the Nebraska State University, where I attended from 1900 to 1904, I became acquainted with a negro who recited in one of my classes three days of the week for one semester. He was one of the most polite boys I ever met, and was highly respected. But he failed in many of his examinations, and was a poor student in every branch of work. He went to Tuskegee and taught there for a time and with apparent success. In answer to my inquiry regarding his work, Mr. Washington wrote: "Mr. ———, of Nebraska, did very creditable work in our English department."

At the Kansas State Agricultural College, where I was instructing in 1905 and 1906, I was obliged to flunk a colored boy who simply couldn't grasp enough of the subject to get a passing mark. Three months after this examination he had charge of a branch of the same work at Tuskegee Institute. These boys, although below the average white student, are capable of teaching the average of their race as much as the latter are capable of learning, and we will not discredit the good work they are doing.

Booker T. Washington, as the leader of his race, has more influence upon the negroes than any other man. The educated class of his race in the United States look to him for advice on all matters of importance. In almost every respect his advice and instruction is of a high order. On one topic, however, he differs from many other students of the race question. He tells them: "We are here to stay; we are not going to colonize in Cuba, Liberia, or any place else, but we'll stay right here."

Mr. Washington's work is one of noble aims and should not be limited to the United States. A branch of it should be established in Liberia.

He could induce hundreds of his graduates and those of other negro schools to go over there and teach their relatives who have never had the advantages of civilization.

Henry M. Stanley says there is space enough in one section of the Upper Congo basin to locate double the number of negroes of the United States, without disturbing a single tribe of the aborigines now inhabiting it.

George W. Williams, an educated mulatto, has written a very commendable history of the negro, in which he states: "The negroes with whom the slavers were supplied represent the dangerous, the destitute, the diseased classes of African society. Pathologically he is weak, sickly, and short-lived. His legs are slender almost to calfless; the head is developed in the direction of passion, while the whole form is destitute of symmetry. He spends his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. He smokes hashish until he stupefies his senses or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses his children; stabs his poor brute of a wife, whose hands keep him from starvation, and makes a trade of his offspring; he swallows up his youth in premature vice; he lingers through a manhood of disease, and his tardy death is hastened by those who no longer care to find him food."

With such conditions existing in his native country, where so much missionary work is needed, America would like to see Booker T. Washington plant a colony and start a school over there.'

Occasionally he has a few native Africans in school at Tuskegee who are being educated to go back as missionaries, but the American-born negro he retains within the borders of Continental United States.

I never saw a negro who showed any patriotism for his fatherland, however, and but few who display much patriotism to the United States.

We have seen from the degree of patriotism they displayed in the reconstruction days in the South that as a race they are entirely incapable of executive ability in Anglo-Saxon governmental affairs. They may be capable after all these years of contact with the latter race to govern themselves if colonized with mulattoes as their leaders, for it must be remembered that the darkest American negro is far superior to the native African.

Then those who are complaining about ill-treatment at the polls may vote without being molested.

The subject of increase in crime among negroes has been discussed under previous heads. Suffice it to say, however, that when a race of people in their stage of development are placed by law on a social and legal equality with another race so far in advance of them as is the Anglo-Saxon, and then suppressed by the superior race in opposition to that law, their vicious traits are naturally brought out. As long as this social condition exists we can expect nothing else.

CHAPTER XI.

TWO FACTIONS AMONG THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the South the most intelligent and most educated negroes are, generally speaking, the leaders of their race, but in northern cities some of the ablest negroes will have nothing to do with the masses of their own people or with racial movements; they hold themselves aloof, asserting that there is no color line, and if there is, there should not be. Their business and their associations are largely with white people, and they cling passionately to the maintenance of such relationship.

In the South a general setting apart of negroes as such is being effected on an immeasurably wider scale. By disfranchisement they are being separated politically, the "Jim Crow" laws set them apart socially and physically, and the hostility of white labor in some callings pushes them aside in industrial activities. But the South presents no such striking contrasts as the North, because no southern negroes were ever accorded a high degree of citizenship by the whites of that section.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University, is not a leader of men, as is Booker T. Washington. He is rather a promulgator of ideas. While Washington is building a great educational institution and organizing the practical activities of the race, DuBois is the lonely critic holding up ideals. DuBois is the foremost of an element in the negro race who claim equal rights socially, politically, and in every other respect. Booker T. Washington is the leader of the more progressive element who are following the advice of the southern whites and allowing industry to take precedence of politics and discrimination.

Mr. William M. Trotter, the mulatto editor of the Boston *Guardian*, and a follower of the DuBois doctrine, violently denounces Booker T. Washington, and President Roosevelt. This paper advises the North to again take up arms against the South to punish them for their position on the negro question. It breathes a spirit of prejudice. He denounces Washington as a "Jim Crowist," and President Roosevelt on account of his action regarding the Brownsville riot.

Three years ago Mr. Washington went to Boston to address a colored audience in Zion Church of that city. Mr. Trotter and his friends scattered cayenne pepper on the rostrum and created such a disturbance that the meeting broke up. Mr. Trotter went to jail for the offense.

The majority of the negro newspapers of the country, chief of which is the *New York Age*, are supporters of Booker T. Washington and his ideals.

The Astor House, a negro hotel, which is operated by negroes for negro guests, has 200 rooms, with a telephone in each, a restaurant, and other accommodations. Many of the colored people of the city are opposed to this, because they think, as one negro expressed it, "The colored man must not draw the line himself if he don't want the white man to."

A white woman sought to establish a help and rescue mission in Boston for colored girls similar to those conducted for Jews, Italians, and other nationalities in various cities of the country, and was violently opposed on the ground that it set up a precedent for color discrimination.

A colored cigar manufacturer of St. Louis says he has the hardest time to get a few dealers of his own race to handle his goods.

There are also several very good negro restaurants in St. Louis, but twice as many negroes patronize white restaurants and lunch counters of those vicinities to avoid color discrimination.

Everything that tends to separate the negro from the white is opposed by this element among the colored people.

They fought the Jamestown Exposition because it had a Negro Building, which they called the "Jim Crow Annex." They fought the National Christian Endeavor Convention because the leaders could not assure negro delegates exactly equal facilities in the hotels and restaurants.

This element seems to be growing, although there are in mixed schools in the North occasional requests by negroes for separate schools.

With the increasing number of negro students, prejudice has increased in the Chicago medical schools, until recently some of them have, by agreement, been closed to colored graduate students.

CHAPTER XII.

OPINIONS OF EMINENT NORTHERN MEN BEFORE AND AFTER HAVING VISITED THE SOUTH.

The center of the negro population remains in the South, and over nine-tenths of the colored population has remained in the southern states. They are more adapted to the climate and conditions there than anywhere else in the United States.

As a northern man I can frankly say, as I have heard hundreds of others: "We of the North have no conception of the real situation until we visit the South. We cannot appreciate the attitude of the southern whites until we live down there among the negroes."

Hon. William Jennings Bryan made the following statement in April, 1908:

"Under the laws disfranchising the negro by demanding educational requirements in the South he has an opportunity to get within the law by coming within the qualification. The negro in the South has the protection of living under the laws made for the black man and the white man alike, but the Filipinos are kept under laws made for them and not for us.

"The white man in the South has disfranchised the negro in self-protection, and there is not a Republican in the North who would not have done the same thing under the same circumstances. Those Republicans in the North who dispute this or say that they are different from the South are either not frank with themselves or are assuming what is not true. The white men in the South will not allow a few men to use the solid black vote to further their own financial and political interests. And that is what was being done.

"I want to say right now that the white men in the South are giving the negroes better laws than the negroes would give to the white men if they were making the laws. Why, right in Washington they disfranchised every negro, even if they had to disfranchise some white men to do it. The white men of the South are determined that the negro will and shall be disfranchised everywhere it is necessary to prevent the recurrence of the horrors of carpet-bag rule."

In 1878 William Morrow, of Chesterville, Ohio, wrote in the *Transcript* of the Ohio Wesleyan University:

"In early life I had conceived a horror of slavery in all its forms, and had long held to the opinion that the negro, once free, and having a fair opportunity, would surely make rapid progress toward becoming a good and honorable citizen. I expected a good deal more than I have found."

After narrating a variety of experiences through the South, he says:

"As a rule the negroes do not learn as well as do children of Ohio. When it comes to reasoning they usually fail. I had in my charge a class in arithmetic that had been half way through the book; upon examination I found that not a single one of them could work an example in long division. Their anger knows no bounds, often attacking a teacher in open school. They never plead guilty, and have an excuse for any and all occurrences."

Mr. William Thorn wrote in the *Globe Review* of New York city in the issue of December, 1900:

"During the spring of 1895, and after more than thirty years of sincere, old-fashioned abolition sympathy with the negro race, I made two visits to several of our southern states, with the following results: 1. All my old abolition sympathies vanished like so many scattered sophistries, for which I had no further use. 2. The negroes of this country are more than ever a shiftless, unteachable, immoral race, incapable of any true civilization in our land, and unworthy of American citizenship. 3. I was convinced that inside the next thirty years the South would be obliged to re-enslave, kill, or export the bulk of its negro population."

Rev. Clayton Smith, of Akron, Ohio, after spending several months in active missionary work in the South, casually remarked:

"Well, if the Northern people were placed in the South for a while, they would treat the negroes just as the southerners do."

I will quote a few of my personal friends on this phase of the subject, all of whom are Northern men, but who have visited or lived long enough in the South to acquaint themselves with conditions there.

A prominent business man of Washington, D. C., told me only a few days ago that, although he was raised in New York and never had any ill-feeling toward the negroes until he visited several months in the South, nothing now excited his disgust and anger quicker than a discussion of the negro question. He said:

"I am a church member, but I can't keep from swearing at those d— coons when I discuss the subject."

Dr. E. M. Santee, of Cortland, N. Y., told me that after traveling a few months in Maryland and Virginia he saw enough of negro life to sicken him of their presence. He said:

"I cannot discuss the subject without saying too much. I will merely say, it is the white man's burden."

Mr. C. H. Kelley, of Belle Plaine, Iowa, remarked to me a few months ago:

"I wish my Iowa friends could see what I have seen of the negroes while at the Jamestown Exposition. The people who think so much of them ought to have to live with them a while."

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *March 22, 1908.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR: It is hard for me to compare the southern negroes with western negroes.

The negroes here are not as well educated and their morals are much lower; in fact, I would say that coons here have no morals at all. I did not look upon negroes in Kansas as I do here. Up there I thought them human. Here I class them just a little above animals, where they belong. The intermarriage and illegal association with the lower class of whites is something frightful. I did not conceive of such a thing until I came here.

A great many prominent business men support colored women. They do not live with them, but have illegal associations, and of course if the business men have such relations the less prominent men do likewise. In the rural districts old white bachelors frequently live with negro women. Consequently a yellow people in the South are quite numerous, and the final outcome is going to be a serious matter some day.

The negro is becoming so diseased that I believe they would die off if white blood were kept out.

Of course, this goes hand in hand with criminality. Very few negroes can be trusted here. They never lose a chance to steal, and in lying they are talented. My brother was on the grand jury recently, and he said that three-fourths of the cases had to do with women, chiefly negroes.

Negro labor is gradually becoming more inferior. They are not to be depended upon. They are best fitted for work that does not require skill or thought. We employ negro help entirely because we can get no other. They are making progress in no line except criminality. If left to themselves they would soon become as they were originally. It is impossible for anyone who has never lived here to fully appreciate conditions. I say that the negro was better off in slavery. This may not meet with your approval, however, but just come and see for yourself.

In spite of all this there is a great chance for development by hustling business men. We have a plantation of 527 acres, bought four years ago for \$20 per acre, now worth \$50. Real estate is advancing rapidly, and northern people are moving in large numbers.

I was over to Tuskegee last summer, and was greatly surprised at the institution and university. I believe that school is O. K., and the students are far above the average. Any slighting remarks about that negro college are out of order.

Hoping that this information may be of service to you and that you may find time to make us a visit in the near future, I am,

Very truly yours,

CHAS. S. JONES, K. A. C. '06.

DALLAS, TEXAS, *April 14, 1908.*

DEAR MR. MELICK: I have your letter about the negro question. Sometime when I see you I shall be able to dilate upon the subject and possibly to give voice to some strong sentiments I have. I have been in the South now for



over five years. Much of the time I have been traveling, and my work has given me special opportunities to observe the negro animal in his various aspects. As a result I have come to the conclusion that the negro is a moral, physical, and social curse to this country.

He is a moral curse because he lowers the tone of business dealings. It is necessary to deal with him frequently by force, to watch to prevent stealing and to force work out of him. If he had his way he would work only enough days in the week to make money to buy food until the next Monday morning.

He is a physical curse because he is a stern reality and must be dealt with.

He is a social curse because the female of his species is ordinarily proud to have intercourse with young white men. Many white men of fine promise get started along this road and waste the best years of their lives—if indeed they don't contract disease that is transmitted to their offspring.

The French cohabit regularly with the negroes. I have seen many a negro who could talk nothing but French. As you are aware, the voting restrictions are very diverse. The only act which restricts their voting in this state is one requiring the payment of a one dollar poll tax six months in advance. On account of the shiftlessness of the race a large percentage are eliminated in this way. At the same time, there is no restriction on account of race, because the undesirable white man is cut out at the same time. In fact, the working of the law is excellent. It raises the class of voters considerably. I believe it would be a good enactment in any state.

As I said in the beginning, this is a large subject. I could write a book on it. Perhaps this will do for the present.

Very truly yours,

W. D. HUNTER.

ORATION OF SOLON W. CUNNINGHAM, MANHATTAN, KANSAS.

Turn back with me in fancy to the year 1620, and to the knoll rising abruptly above the gentle decline stretching away towards the village of Jamestown. We look out o'er the cabin tops into the mysteries of an Atlantic sunrise. Wrapped in a mellow, golden glow, reflected back upon us from white, dense clouds in the west, we gaze enraptured at the flashing, changing splendors on that restless water stretching out beyond the horizon.

As we look, there breaks into our line of vision the white sails of a ship. A ship! We forget, at once, the sunrise and its splendors. From whence does this craft come? The *Golden Horn* has been but eight days out of port. The *Cross Bar* can no more than have left England on her return voyage. The ship has been sighted by the villagers. Many are making their way toward the seashore. Taking off to the north, the vessel, with sails reversed, swings back and drops anchor in the harbor.

Eagerly the villagers watch every move made by the ship's crew. The hold is uncovered. At the crack of a short club-like whip (a "slaver," we hear someone remark,) black, half-naked people swarm up through the hold. Partly in fear, and partly in the spirit of rebellion, they trample one another in their efforts to reach the deck. Huddling to one side of the ship, they are, as so many cattle, cut out, ten by ten, and brought ashore. With cowed, sullen steps they are marched to the market place to await their purchase by plantation owners.

Such was the coming of the Ethiopian into this Western Hemisphere. His descendants to-day constitute a people eight million in numbers—a people who have contributed nothing to the world or to national advancement. The one great shadow which clouds the future of the American Republic is the approaching tragedy of the irrepressible conflict between the negro and the white man in the development of our society.

At the present rate of increase the negro will number sixty millions by the end of this century. Think for a moment of what this means, and you face the gravest problem which ever puzzled the brain of statesman or philosopher. A problem of such proportions never before confronted the white man in his recorded history.

Meet it and fight it to a finish. For more than one-half century it has been pushed out into the future. Although our fathers spilled their heart's blood upon many a battlefield to free the black man, they nevertheless thrust the solution of this question from them. With doubled proportions it has drifted down to us. How much farther are we going to let it drift? Are we going to let it float upon the current of inaction, increasing in magnitude, for our posterity to contend with?

Abraham Lincoln foresaw this tragedy when he wrote his emancipation proclamation. At the close of the civil war he, recognizing the serious problem which his proclamation had created, asked Congress for an appropriation of a billion dollars to colonize the whole negro race. He never believed it possible to assimilate him into our national life. No man ever expressed this idea more clearly than did Lincoln when he said: "There is a physical difference between the white and black man which I believe will forever forbid them living together on terms of social and political equality."

What is this physical difference? Its secret lies in the gulf of thousands of years of inherited progress which separates the child of the Aryan from the child of the African.

Human history begins in the valley of the Nile. That land occupied by the Egyptians has a history dating back from five thousand to seventeen thousand years before Christ. In this long lapse of years we find an occasional record of the negro.

In that fabled valley God planted the Egyptian and the negro side by side. Theirs were equal opportunities. The world was new. No man could teach his neighbor, for he had nothing to lend. No man could better his neighbor's environment, for their environment were identical.

Here was the earth fresh from the hand of the Creator. On her restlessly tossed the mysterious sea, and far away into the inky blackness of the night glistened, with their lesson spread, the uncounted stars. All these were to be studied; all were to be conquered. No color line was drawn, and the door of hope swung wide.

There were no trusts in those days, no monopolies, no riches or poverty. Nothing had been bought; nothing homesteaded. There were no masters and no slaves; everything was equal.

Follow down the records of history and note the lapse of a few centuries. The high state of civilization which Egypt reached is almost incomprehensible. The Egyptian was skilled in medicine. He wrote works on astronomy, architecture, and anatomy, fragments of which have a place in the sciences of to-day. He had erected constitutional government and safeguarded the people's rights. He had harnessed the Nile and reared the pyramids. His cities are to-day the wonder of mankind.

But the negro's jungle was still a jungle. He had no government, no learning, no arts. He had no clothing, no cities, no aspirations. Left alone, contented in his jungle, he had progressed backwards, and become a feeder upon human flesh, a polygamist, without religion, family ties, or morals.

The negro started shoulder to shoulder with the Egyptian. He helped to build the Temple of Rameses. He toiled upon the columns of Karnark. He came and went through the hundred gates of Thebes. If he gained any conception of these colossal works, he never used it for his own welfare. Under the lash of Egypt he could build the pyramids, but no comprehension of the spirit which reared those massive monuments ever penetrated his skull.

Mankind is making history. The Assyrians conquered Egypt. The Persian dynasty rose and fell. Mighty Carthage unmoored her thousand galleys, dominated the maritime world and fell before the onset of armored Rome. Africa's shores trembled with the tread of Genseric's armies, returning from the conquest of the Roman Empire. Conquering Moslems swept westward, crossed into Spain and subjugated it. Steel-armed warriors came out of the north—white savages, who beat down the barriers of Rome and overran the world. Bonaparte marshalled his modern gladiators in the shadows of the pyramids. The negro watched them all and remained unchanged.

The American colonies rent asunder the ties that bound them to Great Britain. A second war was fought, and the black man found himself free.

The negro through sixty turbulent centuries knew nothing of history. History knew nothing of the negro. He was not a contributor to the onward march and gained nothing from it. All the peoples of the world claimed a page in the great book of world events—all save one. Changeless, immutable as the graven sphinx, he stood stock still, wondering at these restless nations who dreamed and accomplished beyond his comprehension. Of all created things, he alone escaped the universal uplift, the world-wide betterment. With him there has been no voluntary transition. Left to himself, he has never done anything for himself, has not shown the slightest inclination to better his own condition.

Buckle, in his history of civilization, says: "The actions of bad men produce only temporary evil. The actions of good men only temporary good. The discoveries of genius alone remain. To these we owe all that we now have. They are for all ages and all times. Never young and never old, they bear the seeds of their own lives; they are essentially cumulative."

Judged by this supreme test, the African has contributed absolutely nothing to human progress. Six thousand years of savagery will have to be obliterated ere he will ever contribute anything to the records of civilization. In the environment he is afforded he becomes imitative, but his imitation does not reach the basic virtues of his model.

Upon this imitation are based these words of Booker T. Washington: "The negro race has developed more rapidly in the thirty years of its freedom than the Latin race has in one thousand years of freedom."

Oh, the pitiful puerility of this statement issuing from the mind of the wisest and greatest man the black race has ever produced! Italy is the mother of genius, the inspiration of the ages, the creator of architecture, agriculture and manufactures; the formulator of commerce, law and finance; the cradle of philosophy, science, and church organizations. Through her culminated sculpturing, painting, literature, and music. And yet, the American negro in thirty years has outstripped her thousands of years of priceless achievement?

We cannot say that the negro's environment is not lifting him. Within the walls of almost all our universities and colleges we find the negro fitting himself for higher things.

Booker T. Washington is training the black man of the south to be independent, to plant his own fields, to own and operate his own industries. Every negro who is thus schooled steps out into the world to battle for himself.

I do not say this is not commendable. I do not say that it is not honorable. I only ask, what will the end be for the negro when the work is perfect? He will have climbed to the bitterest experiences he has yet realized. It will place him upon his own resources. Force him into competition with the white man and by the law of survivorship he must stand or fall.

It is a matter of common knowledge that no colored race has ever been

able to survive in competition with the whites. From the beginning of time the white races have never bowed to a superior. They have tolerated other peoples so long as those peoples did not come into direct competition and conflict with them.

For the Ethiopian, competition means extermination. It is war in its worst and most merciless form. The white man, with inherited competency and intelligence will demand the best places and the best wages. Yea, with his increasing population he will, in a few more generations, demand them all, from the greatest to the least. In commerce the white man will outwit the negro, in politics control him, in war annihilate him.

Does any man believe that, when the negro ceases to work under the direction of the white man, he will allow the negro to master his industrial system and crowd him to the wall? Could fatuity reach a sublimer height than the idea that the white man will stand idly by and watch this performance?

What will we do when put to the test? We will do that which we have done from time immemorial: Take for our own selves what we desire, regardless of the issue it may evolve.

By our present attitude we are deceiving this weaker race, brought to our shores by the sins of our fathers. The negro, forgetting that self-preservation is the first law of nature, hopes and dreams of amalgamation. His black blood, back of which lies thousands of years of listless, ambitionless, savage ancestry, forbids his assimilation. It would but drag the Anglo-Saxon from his course of advancement, quench his aspirations, minimize his ambition, and dull his intellect.

We owe the negro a square deal, but he will never get it in America. The hopes that we instill, the dreams that we inspire, and the aspirations that we create, he can but dash to pieces against the bars of competition. "No amount of education of any kind, industrial, classical or religious, can bridge the chasm of the centuries which separates him from the white man in the evolution of human civilization."

His future, if it be brighter, lies elsewhere than in contact with the Anglo-Saxon. Colonization abroad is the only means through which the negro's future will be left to him. It offers the possibility that the negro, schooled as he has been in the ways of the white man, will work out his own salvation. We, the Anglo-Saxon referred to by Professor Kelly Miller as "the most arrogant and rapacious, the most exclusive and intolerant race in history," will never permit the American negro to rise above his present plane. Africa, that great unutilized continent, offers unbuilded empires and unenlightened nations that the American negro, if he be capable, could build and enlighten.

It is time we were up and forcing the question. In the following, Thomas Dixon, Jr., has voiced the minds of those who are willing to face the issue: "We have spent eight hundred millions on negro education since the war. One-half of this sum would have been sufficient to have made Liberia a rich and powerful negro state. Liberia is capable of supporting every negro in America. Why not face this question squarely? We are temporizing and playing with it, letting it drift to greater issues. All our educational schemes are but compromises and temporary makeshifts. Mr. Booker T. Washington's work is one of noble aims. A branch of it should be immediately established in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. A gift of ten millions would do this and establish a colony of a half million negroes within two years. They could lay the foundations of a free, black republic, which, within twenty-five years, would solve our race problem on the only rational basis within human power."

Colonization is not a failure. It has never been tried.

If it lead to the negro's reversion to savagery, let it. Can we, in justice to our own posterity, leave this problem, with its increasing complexity, for their solution? Can the American people in reason be expected to blast their future and jeopardize their integrity by running the increasing risk of miscegenation? Is not the right of self-preservation stronger in law and ethics than the doubtful duty of sustaining a race that will not and cannot stand alone? This cancer upon the body politic requires heroic surgery. Remove it now, before it consumes our bodies, obliterates our glorious past, and imperils our future.

The above solution of the "Negro Problem" was delivered by Solon W. Cunningham, February 10, 1908, at the annual oratorical contest at the Kansas Agricultural College.

It expresses the ideas of probably one-half of the white people of the United States. To stimulate such an idea to legislative action would require sufficient agitation through public opinion to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

This would require a vote of two-thirds majority of the voters, and as long as the negroes are allowed to vote the plan, however desirable, is not likely to be carried out.

The question has received more or less attention from various sources ever since the civil war. The following outline of one meeting held for a discussion of the subject is an example of hundreds that have been held for this purpose: On Wednesday, June 9, 1890, a conference of men and women, invited by Mr. A. K. Smiley, met at the Lake Hohonk Hotel, Ulster County, New York, and discussed plans to raise to full stature of American citizenship the negro race. Ex-President R. B. Hayes was made chairman; secretaries, Rev. A. H. Bradford, D. D., Montclair, N. J.; George P. Whittlesey, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Boston, Mass. Dr. C. L. Warner of New York city was elected treasurer, and an executive committee composed of the following was elected: M. E. Gates, LL. D., president Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; Dr. E. M. Strieby, New York; H. O. Houghton, Boston; Rev. R. H. Allen, D. D., Pittsburg, Pa.; Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D. D., Washington, D. C. All of the officers were appointed from states where the negro problem does not exist, and who, from their remarks, knew little about it.

The first address was given by Mr. Hayes. Its sentiment may be summed up in one of his sentences:

"We are, indeed, the keepers of our brothers in black; having deprived them of their labor, liberty, and manhood, and grown rich and strong while doing it, we have no excuse for neglecting them, if our selfishness prompted us to do so."

The majority of the other papers were by northern men and expressed the same sentiment. Dr. White alone took a broad view of the subject. The second speaker, S. B. Armstrong, of Hampton, Va., said that the greatest trouble with the negro is deficiency in character:

"You can feed and clothe the negro, build his home and give him knowledge; but that does not necessarily build up character."

He said that the whites were in the golden age and the black back in the iron age.

W. T. Harris said that the seventeen states in which slavery existed previous to the civil war had in attendance in their public schools 1,140,405 colored children, 17,683 in private and endowed, and 5,066 in colleges.

Andrew D. White, ex-president of Cornell University, said: "This question is not a national, but a local one. The Indian question is national. It is a national heritage and a national obligation. It presses upon all parts alike and presses upon no section. This is not the case with the negro problem. While it has only touched the North in spots, the problem and the race are throughout the entire southern country from one end to the other. The southern people understand the negro better than anyone else and should have the management of the question."

CHAPTER XIII.

EXTRACTS FROM SENATOR TILLMAN'S SPEECHES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER.

The northerners never knew what negro domination was. The question does not concern them, because it does not interfere in the least with their business or social pleasure. When I lived in Nebraska I seldom gave it a thought. Since coming to Maryland, and after traveling through most of the southern states, I realize that it is a serious proposition, and one that should interest every patriotic citizen.

My observations coincide so nearly with some of the conditions described in the speeches of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina, in the Congressional Record, and since his observations cover many more years than mine, I will quote a few paragraphs from these congressional speeches. In his speech of February 23rd, 1903, he said:

"The history of education in South Carolina for the last twenty-five years, before the new Constitution and since, has been that there are more negro children in our public schools than there are white. The abolition of slavery gave the death blow to open vice, but those great controllers of moral action, self-respect, attachment to law, and veneration of God, which slavery destroyed, freedom has resuscitated. I realize that no man should approach this subject from any standpoint other than that of patriotic Americans who have to deal with the terrible conditions which will require the best minds and the best hearts in this country to even ameliorate, much less to solve. In the Spanish war the southern states sent their quotas of volunteers as promptly to be marshalled under the common flag as the northern states. The North has had little or no hatred for us. But they do not know what is involved in this issue. They cannot understand it, because they have no similar conditions."

In the North Democrats and Republicans are on a level. You do not know the difference as you walk along the streets. Personal friendship and business relations are most intimate. But in the South, where every negro is a Republican, the whites are Democrats, so that they may be able to control the negroes if for nothing else.

In his speech of January 24, 1907, Mr. Tillman says:

"The recollection of the actions of the negro soldiers who were quartered in the South in 1866 and 1867, the outrages, the infamies, the cruelties that

were perpetrated upon our people by them, there is no wonder that we hate the very idea of a negro soldier wearing the uniform of the United States and representing authority."

"We had 8,000 negro militia organized by carpet baggers. The carpet bag governor had come to Washington and had persuaded General Grant to transcend his authority by issuing to the state quota of arms under the militia appropriation for twenty years in advance, in order to get enough to equip these negro soldiers.

"All this after Abraham Lincoln had said: 'No more insane blunder could now be made than any further attempt to use the negro troops to preserve peace in the South.'

"Clashes came. The negro militia grew unbearable and more and more insolent. I am not speaking of what I read; I am speaking of what I know, of what I saw. There were two militia companies in my township and a regiment in my county. We had clashes with these negro militiamen. The Hamburg riot was one clash, in which seven negroes and one white man were killed. A month later we had the Ellenton riot, in which no one ever knew how many negroes were killed, but there were forty, or fifty, or a hundred. It was a fight between barbarism and civilization, between African and Caucasian, for mastery. It was then that we shot them; it was then that we killed them; it was then that we stuffed the ballot-boxes.

"After the troops came and told us we must stop this rioting, we had decided to take the government away from men so debased as were these negroes—I will not say baboons; I never have called them baboons; I believe they are men, but some of them are so near akin to the monkey that scientists are yet looking for the missing link.

"We saw enough of the evil of giving the ballot to creatures of this kind, and saying that the vote shall count, regardless of the man behind it, whether or not that vote would kill mine. So we thought we would let you see that it took something else besides having the shape of a man to make a man. 'Desperate diseases require desperate remedies.' 1867 was the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the action of the white men of South Carolina, in that year, in taking the state away from the negroes, we regard as a second Declaration of Independence by the caucasian from the African barbarism.

"If we had been content to submit to the reconstruction acts which had thrust the ballot into the hands of ignorant and debased negroes, slaves five years before, and only five years removed from African barbarism, the state of South Carolina to-day would be a howling wilderness, a second San Domingo.

"If this issue is presented to the American people, if they are made clearly to understand what is involved in the conditions in the South now, and what will inevitably come in the near future, they can no longer, and never will, be rallied again under the cry of enfranchising the negro of the South.

"We have butchered the Indian and taken his land. We have denied that the Malay is fit. Yet we stand proclaiming that the African is fit. The negroes of the old slave days, the negroes with whom I played in childhood never presumed to assert equality. For these negroes there is throughout the south a universal feeling of respect and love. I have a photograph of one of these. I term him 'Old Black Joe,' for he is a full-blooded negro and about sixty years old. He has been living with me about thirty-five years. He now has the keys to my home in South Carolina. He has full charge of my stock, and my plantation. He is a shining example of what the negro can be and how he can get along with the white man peacefully, pleasantly, and honorably, enjoying all his liberties and rights. He has never meddled

with voting. He occupies the same attitude as the white man and negro do in this District. They do not meddle with voting. Every child I ever had would share his last crust with that negro to-morrow."

"During the civil war there were in the South about 800,000 negro men of adult age. The women and children of the Confederate soldiers were left at home entirely helpless with these negroes. There is not on record a solitary instance of one white woman having been wronged until near the close of the war.

"The putrefaction is now going on.

"Relieved from police control, they are no longer compelled, as the Indians have been, by troops to stay on their reservations. These negroes move where they please. They have a little smattering of education. That soon reaches its limit. Some of them have white blood in their veins, and are taught that they are as good as white men. They ask why not as good as white women? And when caste feeling, race pride, and every instinct that influences and controls the white women makes them spurn the thought, rape follows. Murder and rape become a monomania. The negro becomes a fiend in human form.

"Race hatred grows day by day. There is no man who is honest, going through the South, and conversing with the white people and blacks, but will return and tell you this is true. Some of the negroes have a good excuse. I will not dispute it. If I were a negro I would probably do as they do, but being a white, man, I expect to do just as I am doing, so help me God, as long as I live.

"The south is occupying an attitude of constant friction, race riot, butchery, the inevitable, irrepressible conflict, between a white civilization and a black barbarism. I plead for the negro as much as for the white man. This body of death is chained to our backs by two constitutional amendments, and I ask you in God's name; I ask you in the name of civilization; I ask you in the name of purity and virtue of the white women of the South, to do something to relieve us from this body of death in the South."

In Mr. Tillman's speech before Congress, January 12, 1907, in discussing the shooting affray at Brownsville, Texas, on the nights of August 13 and 14, 1906, he further says:

"The War Department in its dispatches showed great earnestness and dread lest if the accused were surrendered they could not be defended, and as I say they were sneaked out of Brownsville because of the dread that if it were known that they were being carried away somebody, somewhere, might meet the train and have a lynching. I want to ask anybody here whether, if these had been white soldiers, there would have been a word said about mob violence?

"If the race question looms up here as prominently as the Washington Monument looms across the western horizon, what is the use for us to shun and dread its discussion?

"We settled slavery, and we settled the question of nationality. We destroyed one, and we settled forever the proposition as to whether we were a confederation or a nation. We are a nation with a big N, but the southern half of this country has no conception of the word 'nation' except that it is connected with the word 'nigger.' More's the pity!

"Broadly speaking, the white people of the United States are face to face with the vital issue as to whether the Caucasian race shall share its inheritance with the other races of the earth.

"On the Pacific Coast the relationship between the caucasians and mongolians is involved. Obliteration of the race line, and granting of full citizenship is bitterly opposed by the Americans. These Americans ought to know what is for their best interests. They ought to have, and undoubtedly will have, the sympathy and aid of their fellow-citizens, north and south, in protecting their interests. But these two phases of the race problem sink into insignificance compared with the greater and more vital question of relationship of the races in the southern states of this Union.

"Are there any senators in this chamber who would have the caucasian, highest and noblest of the five races, as is attested by history, descend to the level of the lowest of them, with the inevitable result that pure white blood, mixing for centuries with black, will disappear from the face of the earth, and, after the mixing shall have completed the amalgamation. we shall have all men of one type and one skin?

"Are things to drift until direful tragedies multiply on every hand and blood shall flow like water? Is the statesmanship of our time inadequate to cope with this question, just as statesmanship of 1860 failed to prevent the dire catastrophe of civil war? That war was fought to settle the race question, but forty years after its termination we find conditions more threatening in some of their aspects than they were in 1861.

"The North went to war to destroy slavery and restore the Union. If they had stopped there we would have none of this trouble on our hands now. The question would have been allowed to evolve naturally, and we would have been permitted to give to those negroes who may have shown themselves qualified to hold the ballot the right to vote. But we have made a mistake of enfranchising a race, slaves last week, barbarians three generations ago. If it was a mistake why not say so? And why not retrace our steps?

"I plead with senators here not to ignore the gravity of the situation, not to allow things to go on as they are going on now, involving a struggle for mastery between the two races in the South, coupled with the direful tragedies that will come, because the white people are resolved to maintain their civilization and protect their women. It is a serious obligation of duty, and if I do nothing else in this debate than to have the subject presented broadly from the standpoint of patriotism and of statesmanship by somebody else, I will welcome the opportunity to give some more facts when the time comes. This Brownsville incident would never have attracted a thousandth part of the interest it has but for the fact that this great underlying question is involved in it.

"I have merely tried to point out that we in the South are on the crest of a volcano; we are environed with dangers of which the people of the north have no conception, and we realize the fearful tragedies that are confronting us unless something can be done to ameliorate conditions. It is high time that something was being done to have this great and vital question brought before the country in some practical and sensible way. The deep interest shown in the Brownsville tragedy is ample evidence that the people of the country are beginning to feel concerned in the various phases of this question. It is absolutely useless for doctrinaires and politicians to undertake to pooh, pooh, the question and dismiss it with a wave of the hand, and I for one am ready to go to battle under the slogan, 'America for Americans!' This is a white man's country, and white men must govern it."

From these remarks we can readily see that, although it is practically a sectional problem, it has a national aspect, and should concern every patriotic citizen of the United States to the extent of using his

vote or influence in bringing relief to the situation should it ever be made a national issue. A negro free in the South is not half free, unless he lives in a community where negroes are so largely in the majority that a white man dare not express his opinion in public. In such communities life for a white man is almost unendurable. Equality in such places is a hopeless dream. Is it any wonder that progress in the South is so far behind that of the North to-day?

CHAPTER XIV.

LITERATURE AND COMMENTS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

There have been many contributors to the cause of solution of the race problem. Hundreds of books and magazine articles have discussed it pro and con, and a wealth of ignorance has been expended on the subject with little or no effect.

Too many people have written on this problem before having had an opportunity to study it thoroughly. One should not give public expression to this grave question until he has spent at least a few months in the South.

One writer in a New York daily paper wrote: "The negroes of Alabama are far superior to the poor whites who lounge about the railway stations," etc. The writer probably wrote what he imagined at a thousand miles distance.

The human mind is plastic and adapts itself to its environment. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that the opinions of people of the North should differ from the views of those of the South on the negro question. Neither are to blame for their views, but some of the northern people make the mistake of drawing conclusions and expressing their opinions on southern conditions which they have never seen.

It is chiefly the people of the northeastern part of the United States, those who have had little or nothing to do with foreign races, who are the greatest sympathizers of the negro. True, the greater part of the European emigration to this country enters through the ports of this part of the Union, but these foreigners are for the most part members of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The people of the western part of the country, who have had to contend with the influx of Chinese and Japanese, or those who have lived on the Indian frontier, know how to sympathize with the South or any other section burdened with a foreign race.

I have known cowboys who would not hesitate an instant to shoot an Indian for stealing a calf or pig, and Indians who were afraid to leave their reservation alone for fear of being shot by ranchmen, who remember the tomahawk and scalping knife.

This merely illustrates the effect of environment upon man.

On the evening of April 27, 1908, the Cosmopolitan Society of New York City gave a banquet at Peck's restaurant, on Fulton street, in which colored and white people sat together at each table. Editor Holt, in an address at this banquet, advocated intermarriage as a solution to the race problem, and was vociferously applauded. He said, in part:

"When the colored people get educated the whites in the South will have to recognize them as their equals. What must be the remedy? Intermarriage, if continued long enough, would solve the race problem."

Miss Mary White Ovington addressed the banqueters as follows:

"Move your chairs nearer together and get up closer. I like to think that we are going to eat with and stand up for our colored brothers and sisters wherever and whenever we meet them, or wherever we can. We hope to have many such clubs soon. I believe it would be a terrible state of affairs when the negro gives up any of his rights as a man. He should never be satisfied until his equality is recognized."

Other similar addresses followed.

This affair naturally became a subject of comment throughout the United States on the following morning. Many prominent southern men gave public expression to their views. Governor Swanson of Virginia commented on it as follows:

"It is difficult to believe the accounts of the action of the Cosmopolitan Society of New York at their recent dinner. It is such disgraceful performances as these, and expression of such views, that make more difficult the solution of the negro problem. The persons who are most injured by such actions in the North are the negro people of the South.

"This matter is absolutely settled and admits of no discussion. The sooner negroes and their pretended friends realize and understand this the better. The speeches and performances as reported can bring nothing but disgust to reputable people of the North and South, who must entertain for such proceedings supreme contempt."

Mass-meetings were held among the most respectable negro communities of the South in charge of the clergymen of the colored churches denouncing the action of the Cosmopolitan Club of New York and the renewed race feeling and opposition which was brought upon them as a consequence.

Unfortunately, there was too much in the bearing of the people of the North to impress the negro that he was in all respects equal to the white, and therefore entitled to every privilege which they enjoyed. Many people from the Northern states, actuated by mistaken philan-

thropy, encouraged this idea, while in other cases unscrupulous white men sought to increase their influence over these deluded beings by encouraging them in the belief of their absolute equality, if not superiority, to the southern whites.

To these teachings we can trace nearly all the turmoils, strifes and sufferings of the southern negro.

These mischief-makers, innocently for the most part, have committed this error: Instead of teaching the negro that he must elevate himself and better his condition by personal effort—by the acquisition of knowledge and by hard labor; in other words, advancing his condition the same as has been done by the white race—much of the teaching has been to impress upon the negro that he is already equal to the whites in every respect, and it is his duty to himself to assert this equality.

Some idea of the effect of even a little of such teaching can be imagined if we consider the effect upon schoolboys if told they know more than their teachers, and that they were unreasonable and cruel, and ought not to be obeyed; or the effect upon soldiers if told the same with regard to their officers.

The negro should also be impressed that the only elevation that he has received above barbarism has been by associating with and having the advantages of the example and teachings of the whites.

The two most popular books on slavery and racial conditions, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "The Clansman," each represent but one side of the subject.

The majority of the other books written from either point of view are even more one-sided than these.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" portrays racial conditions of slavery times from the northern point of view only, showing the worst side of the slaveholder and the best side of the negro. "The Clansman" takes up the story where it is dropped in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and portrays the southern view. One should read both books to comprehend the exact situation.

Harriet Beecher Stowe received her inspiration to write "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by watching some white neighbor children playing from time to time with freed slave pickaninnies brought by the Tichenor and Overaker families from New Orleans to Cincinnati. Topsy, Black Sam, and a few other characters of the book were taken from real life from among this retinue of freed household servants. Topsy's real name was Joan. After an unsuccessful attempt to develop her into a reasonable being she drifted into the abandoned stratum of Cincinnati life.

Thomas Dixon received his inspiration to write "The Clansman" by observing southern conditions during the reconstruction period after the war, and also from reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin." He wanted the public to know both sides of the question.

General Joseph Wheeler once said, in the *New York Journal*: "The picture painted by 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' gave a very distorted and incorrect view of the condition of the negro in the southern states. There were, no doubt, instances of great wrong and hardship inflicted upon them. But the general condition which surrounded the negro slave was such as to elevate him far above the conditions which exist in the wilds of Africa from which he came."

During slavery times many of the southern churches were built with galleries for the negro slaves. These galleries were filled regularly every Sunday, and on Communion Sundays, after the white worshippers had finished their communion services, the negroes were invited down to partake of the sacrament.

Not one northern person in a thousand would imagine such a condition by reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Northern people cannot understand the southern negro until they live for a time in his environment.

Dr. White, in the First Mohonk Congress, previously mentioned, struck the keynote of the situation when he asserted that northern people could not manage the negroes as well as the southerners do. At the slightest misdemeanor on the part of a negro the southerner's blood is up and there is fire in his eye. He shoots one square look at the negro, and if that isn't sufficient, he follows it up with whatever happens to be in his mind at the time, and the latter is ready to obey almost any command. He also has far more respect for such a white man than for one who places himself on the negro's level.

So long as the negroes were exclusively in the hands of the people who, by constant association with them, had learned their characteristics, the question was managed by methods beneficial to both races. But in just so far as the destiny of the negro fell under the control of those who were ignorant of his peculiar traits the troubles and turmoil seemed to commence.

A child has more respect for its parents or teacher when they enforce discipline or subordination. Similarly the negro mind in its stage of development esteems more highly the white man who in a legitimate manner enforces submission and admits of no equality.

Southern hospitality has become proverbial. I have been entertained at many southern homes, and in some instances where the host, although unable to pay his farm mortgage, would put an elaborate spread on the dinner table that would do honor to a king.

They treat white men as such, and negroes as a servant class.

As long as a negro keeps his place there, he is treated kindly. As soon as he tries to assert equality he meets with more than hostile opposition.

Where the "Jim Crow" law exists the negroes are generally submissive to the rules and customs, and it is principally where the negro is made to feel that he is the white man's equal where contention and strife occurs.

Not long ago Miss Mary Bennett, a prominent Washington society lady, was riding on a Lincoln Park street car, when a negro stepped in, and, although there were several vacant seats in the car, he sat down right against her. Miss Bennett got up and took another seat. A gentleman across the aisle, evidently from Kentucky, clinched his fists, and, glaring at the negro, said: "It's well for you that this isn't in Kentucky."

The removal of the ballot-box from the negro would, to a great extent, relieve the situation. This should be left, however, to the local option of each state. If the negroes are then disfranchised in the South and want to vote bad enough to come up and live in the North, the northern states will very soon adopt local option on this topic and also disfranchise them.

CHAPTER XV.

LOCAL OPTION IN THE SOUTH.

Local option in the saloon business is ridding many counties of whiskey and its adoption is rapidly spreading.

The presence of 8,000,000 negroes has operated as a tremendous incentive for prohibition of the liquor traffic in the South. The Atlanta and Mississippi riots showed the dangers of the saloon. It was an attractive social center for the dangerous elements of the southern population—the lower levels of both races. Following the racial lines from top to bottom, they converged at the saloon, which was situated in the acute angle of this inverted social pyramid. When they had been closed for a week in Atlanta, the better class of whites thought, why not for a year? Or forever? The liquor traffic fostered and encouraged the depraved and criminal negro and the vengeful and irresponsible white. Of both the South is tired.

Prohibition in that section in the civic program as a final policy is an exhibition of rare moral courage, an innovation in Anglo-Saxon human nature, in which the liquor traffic has always found a responsive chord.

Thousands of whites who keep whiskey and wines in their homes continually, voted for local option to prevent the negroes from obtaining it. The negroes, for the most part, voted against prohibition, and were defeated.

In 1883 Col. Archie Hughes, of Columbia, Tennessee, who was an officer in the Spanish-American war, helped round up and conduct 500 illiterate negroes to the polls and voted them against local option, thus defeating the temperance cause in that district for the time being.

In a vote taken on May 12, 1908, in Prince Georges County, Md. (in the "wet" districts only), the question of local option was defeated by 266 votes (1,688 to 1,422). The negro vote defeated the movement, as the majority of votes cast against the local option proposition are known to have been negro votes, while nine-tenths of the vote cast by white men were in favor of it.

In some of the southern districts a number of the negroes were driven from the polls during the local option vote. I consider this justifiable where it was the necessary means to obtain prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. On such vital points on which depends the

welfare of the American homes, the negro should not be allowed to interfere.

"Locker Clubs" were formed by the saloonkeepers and their customers in many of the local option districts.

In the city of Savannah alone 147 of these secret dram drinkers' dens were organized the day after prohibition went into effect, and one of these included 1,700 negroes.

Finally Judge Emory Speer, one of the ablest United States judges in the South, handed down a decision in Savannah that these lockers were illegal, and the owners subject to the penalties of any seller of intoxicating liquors.

There are still a few out-of-the-way places in local option districts where men may sneak away and obtain whiskey, but these are vanishing.

While riding through a local option district in the South last spring I saw three negroes with several jugs get off the train at a little station and walk off toward an old barn in the woods. A traveling man told me that they were going out there for whiskey, the sale of which was prohibited in their district.

Wine, containing alcohol, is now forbidden at sacramental services in the churches of Georgia, and certain other temperance districts of the South.

Since prohibition went into effect in the South not a financial failure has been accredited to the new reform.

Not a dollar has been dropped from the value of real estate.

The saloons have been turned into stores and marts of fashion or trade. Many a low den has been turned into commercial lines of activity, and the per cent of crime, including the negro assaults on women, has been greatly reduced.

We have reason to expect good results from local option; much better results than from prohibition as a national issue. If the southern states had waited to elect a President of the United States on a prohibition ticket, they might have waited until the millennium for temperance. Any given locality knows better than the rest of the nation what it needs, and their situation should command the attention and respect of the remainder of the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

REFERENCES FROM THE DAILY PRESS.

One need only read the southern newspapers to learn of the unlawful work of the night riders, moonshiners, and other organizations of whites, lynching, or shooting some negro who has assaulted a white girl or committed some outrage. Scarcely a day goes by but what even some of the northern daily papers give an account of trouble between the whites and the negroes; usually a negro crime avenged by a white mob. I will insert only a very few such notices taken from recent daily papers:

Washington Herald:

Galveston, Tex., June 23, 1908.

The first trouble between the whites and the blacks in Sabine county, the earliest settled county in Texas, has resulted in a determination on the part of the whites that the large population of negroes must immediately immigrate.

Following the lynching of ten negroes and the beating of fifty more yesterday, notices were issued that every negro must leave the county under penalty of death. A dozen or more white men, charged with having instigated the negro depredations and murders, were included in the edict. Newton and San Augustine counties joined Sabine in its crusade against the blacks. More than 1,000 negroes crossed the lines to-day, most of them going to Louisiana. The militia and State rangers attempted to persuade the white men from this action, but were overwhelmed and had to confine their work to preventing open fights.

Arms were found in every negro cabin, and these were confiscated by the State rangers. About twenty or more young negroes who resisted being driven across the line were cowhided.

Washington Evening Star:

Way Cross, Ga., June 27, 1908.

Just at sundown this afternoon two negroes were lynched by a mob of at least 1,000 persons. The lynching occurred on the eastern outskirts of the city. The negroes were Walter Wilkins and Albert Baker, who were brought here this morning from Wayne county, one of them charged with assaulting the fourteen-year-old daughter of Mr. Wiley Wainwright Thursday evening.

The negroes were lodged in the Ware county jail during the day, and late this afternoon were taken out by Wayne county officers for the purpose of carrying them to Jesup for safekeeping. Suddenly a rush was made and a dozen hands clasped each officer and his gun.

The negroes were jerked across the railroad track and a hundred persons pounced upon them, others still holding the guards.

Through the wire fence of the railroad the mob shoved the negroes and then started in a run across College Hill.

For nearly half a mile they continued to the first oak tree in the old Cherokee nursery. Here an attempt was made to break the handcuffs which held the negroes together, but without avail.

No one had a rope, but a heavy trace chain which was locked around one of the negroes was broken apart and a loop was soon made around his neck. Some one mounted the tree, and from the first limb caught the end of the chain, tying it around the limb, while others held the alleged assailant of the girl up from the ground. He was then turned loose, his feet about two feet from the ground. The other negro, still handcuffed to the body of the hanging man, stood with hands clasped around the tree. The mob, stepping back about ten paces, opened fire upon the men, hundreds of shots being fired into the bodies.

Many tried to prevent the killing of the negro, who was clasping the tree, there being much doubt about his connection with the outrage. Nothing could be done with the enraged mob.

After the lynching the mob dispersed. The crime occurred near the home of Wiley Wainwright Thursday night.

The negro Albert Baker was arrested yesterday morning and carried before the girl for identification. He was with several other negroes at the time, and she readily pointed him out.

Washington Post:

ANNAPOLIS, MD., March 10, 1908.

In the senate to-night Senator Linthicum, of Baltimore, read a letter he had, threatening death for introducing a bill for the separation of negroes and white people in electric cars. It is signed "Negro," and its concluding paragraph is as follows:

"Deprivation and such outrages you urchins are making upon us will drive up to anything. The poor of Russia and other countries have existed only through continued murder of some member responsible for the law that kept them in serfdom. Now, this is what we intend to do with you and Ike Strauss unless you cease at once to advocate your bills. It is better that a few men die than a whole race perish."

Washington Post:

PADUCAH, KY., March 10, 1908.

Masked night riders, 100 strong, entered the town of Birmingham, Marshall county, Kentucky, early this morning, shot and killed a little negro girl, wounded her father and four members of his family, and whipped five other negroes.

The riders took possession of the town and shot into every negro cabin in the place. In one of these, John Scruggs, his wife, and three children, and a granddaughter, were struck by bullets. Scruggs' two-year-old daughter is dead; he and two other members of his family fatally wounded.

Washington Herald:

March 12, 1908.

Miss Mamie Wright, of 915 Sixth street southwest, reported to the police that last night about 9.15 o'clock, while she was walking in Seventh street southwest, a negro grabbed her purse containing \$4.26.

The young woman said she was returning from a shopping tour, and was between H and I streets, on Seventh street southwest, when a negro jumped from behind a treebox, and, grabbing her by the arm, wrested her purse from her. She screamed.

The negro pushed her away when she tried to grapple with him and fled through an alley, she says.

Miss Wright describes the negro as of medium height, and intensely black. She says he was wearing torn and dirty overalls.

Washington *Herald*:

LYNCHBURG, VA., March 27, 1908.

George Twitty, a hard-working negro farmer, who lived in the lower end of Campbell county, Virginia, was taken to the woods nearby by three men and nearly beaten to death. He managed to escape, but while he was running two shots struck him in the back. He died Wednesday, after making a statement, the import of which is withheld pending an investigation.

Washington *Herald*:

TAZEWELL, VA., March 27, 1908.

Walter Rippey, the negro assailant, was hanged in the jail yard this morning. Death ensued in a few minutes after the trap was sprung. The negro made a short speech in front of the jail.

It is estimated that 500 persons, among the number being seven women, were on the outside of the inclosure.

The crime for which Rippey was hanged was assault on Mrs. Mary Dancey, a young widow, near Pocahontas, on the afternoon of February 13. The woman was returning from a shopping visit to Pocahontas, carrying her two-year-old baby in her arms. The negro threatened to kill the baby, and thus forced her to accompany him.

Baltimore *Sun*:

Annapolis, Md., May 14, 1908.

One marine was shot in the leg and another had his ear grazed by a bullet during a clash between about fifty sailors and marines on one side and nearly that number of negroes on the other to-night at Annapolis.

A miniature battle, with all the weapons on the negroes' side, was fought with considerable liveliness until the arrival of the police, who did quick work in quelling what might have been a serious riot.

The affray took place at 9.30 P. M. and the battleground was in front of a row of negro houses known as Buzzards' Roost, located at the edge of the town, along the tracks of the Baltimore and Annapolis Short Line. It is said the trouble started over the taking of a sailor's hat by a negro. The sailors and marines had been drinking, it is said, and a group of them came upon a number of negroes near Buzzards' Roost.

The marines and sailors say that the negroes attempted to sandbag several of their number. They called to their comrades for help, and when a negro ran with a sailor's hat a general fight followed. A number of shots were fired by the blacks, and many bricks and stones were thrown. None of the sailors and marines were armed. The firing attracted a large crowd, and the police were highly praised for the dispatch with which they dispersed the antagonists.

Several marines were arrested, but the blacks all escaped. The wounded marine was hurried away by his comrades.

*Washington Herald:**March 22, 1908.*

James Thomas Heflin, representative in Congress from the Fifth Alabama district, an ardent temperance advocate, in company with Mr. Ellerbe, boarded a Capital Traction car in front of the Raleigh Hotel. There were six or seven other persons in the car, including women.

When the car passed Seventh street, Lundy, a negro, took a flask of whiskey from his pocket and placed it to his lips.

Heflin remonstrated with him about drinking in a public car in the presence of ladies. The negro replied with an oath.

Ellerbe left the car in front of the Metropolitan Hotel. Heflin was still arguing with the negro.

The car had just crossed Sixth street, when the negro is said to have grabbed the congressman by the lapel of his coat. Heflin then drew his revolver, and, holding the negro close against him, fired.

The bullet grazed the negro, went through the window, and struck Thomas McCreery, who was standing in front of the St. James Hotel. Heflin then hit the negro over the head with the butt of the gun and pushed him to the door. He then kicked him to the pavement.

The negro staggered upon hitting the ground and began to curse and abuse the congressman. Heflin reached through a window and fired at the negro.

At the time of the shooting Heflin was on his way to the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, at Four-and-a-half and C streets northwest, to deliver a lecture there on the subject of "Temperance." Five hundred or more men and women had gathered and were awaiting for his arrival and lecture.

When they heard he had been arrested and was held by the police on a charge of shooting a negro with intent to kill they beat a precipitate and rather disorganized retreat from the church. None of them, as far as could be learned, called at the station house to see if they could do anything to help him.

*Washington Herald:**April 1, 1908.*

Miss Carrie Jenkins, twenty-two years old, of 1719 Thirteenth street northwest, was robbed of her pocketbook at 8.30 o'clock last night, within a block of her home, after being brutally attacked by a negro.

The man grabbed Miss Jenkins by the throat as she passed an alley on Riggs street, only half a block from her home on Thirteenth street. He knocked her to the ground, and, still clutching her throat, beat her head against the sidewalk until she was all but unconscious. He then wrenched her purse, containing her month's salary, minus a few dollars, from her hand, and ran through an alley.

Although descriptions of the negro were sent to every station house in the city and several central office detectives were set to work on the case, the purse-snatcher had not been arrested at an early hour this morning. One policeman, on duty near the scene of the crime, declared that he saw the negro some time after the outrage, but was unable to arrest him.

After telling her story to Policeman Wheeler, Miss Jenkins was too nervous to talk further of the affair. Her throat still bore the imprint of the negro's fingers, and the back of her head was swollen and bruised from contact with the sidewalk.

The description given by Miss Jenkins tallies in several particulars with that given of a negro who robbed Mrs. McKeever of a suit case on a

Seventh street car yesterday, and also tallies with that of a negro who snatched a purse from a white woman in the crowded downtown section last Saturday evening.

Miss Wharton, matron of the Woman's Christian Association, said to a reporter for the *Washington Herald* last night:

"I feel awfully sorry for the poor girl, for, besides her physical injuries, shock, and nervousness, she lost every cent she had in the world. She works hard for her money, and had had the benefit of only something less than a dollar, having just sent \$5 away to relatives."

Washington Herald:

April 13, 1908.

Telephone messages were received at police headquarters last night from an officer at Indian Head, Md., who wanted trained bloodhounds.

The officer told Lieutenant Peck, who answered the telephone call, that a white woman had been attacked by a negro and left in a critical condition. He said the negro had escaped, and that bloodhounds were wanted to assist in the capture of the fugitive.

Lieutenant Peck was unable to get further information from the Indian Head officer. He was unable, also, to comply with the request to furnish bloodhounds, as none are available in Washington, so far as known, for that purpose.

Such racial crimes which are of daily occurrence in the southern states, and a disgrace to civilization, cannot be suppressed by enforcing equality laws without creating an exceedingly grave crisis.

It would, therefore, be advantageous for both races if the negroes would consent to colonization.

Disfranchising the illiterate and non-property holder, as has been done in the South, might stimulate this movement. This has proved advantageous for the welfare of that section, and it undoubtedly would elsewhere.

The intelligent mulatto, however, has an inherited right to suffrage, but should be compelled to meet the educational requirements. Dr. E. A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, says: "The South is pursuing a far-sighted policy of justice, both to the negro and to the white man."

CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN COLONIZING THE AMERICAN
NEGRO IN AFRICA?

Liberia was founded in 1820 by the American Colonization Society, an organization of American philanthropists who tried the experiment of colonizing freed negroes who wished to enjoy political and social privileges denied them in the United States.

The sum of about three million dollars was contributed and put into the scheme. About 13,000 colored people were aided in migrating from the United States to Liberia from 1820 to 1847.

Many difficulties inseparable from such an undertaking were bravely overcome.

At an annual meeting of the society in 1824, upon a motion of Gen. Robert G. Harper of Maryland, the colonial territory was named Liberia, signifying a country for freedmen. Its future capital Monrovia was named in honor of James Monroe, who was at that time President of the United States.

In 1847 the colony organized a government upon a similar basis to that of the United States, the president and vice-president, however, being elected every two years.

They have a senate and house of representatives, cabinet, justices, local magistrates, supreme and lower courts, and a modern system of universal suffrage, with secret ballot.

The government is entirely in the hands of the Americo-Liberians, no white man being permitted to own land in the republic.

Every town and village has its school, and in Monrovia is located the West-African College, whose president, Rev. R. B. Richardson, is an Americo-Liberian.

The laws under which the colony, or republic, as it became in 1847, has been governed, were framed by Mr. Thomas Dixon, Sr., of the colonization society. He also framed their currency system, which has since been revised. When the movement first started the colonists could not read, and it became necessary to provide a currency designating varying amounts by plainer means than numbers. Pictures were therefore used in the following manner:

The smallest paper money, six cents, was distinguished by a picture of one duck. The picture of two ducks on a note represented twelve cents. Chickens were valued at a higher rate than ducks. A note with the picture of one chicken represented twenty-five cents, and that with two chickens fifty cents.

For several years the state of Maryland and various philanthropic societies of different states made annual appropriations for the maintenance of the colony. About \$100,000 were annually contributed to this cause until 1847, when the amount began to decrease. There are no contributions now. The freed negro was one of the problems of that generation, and this colony was looked upon as the means of solving it.

In the days of deepest interest in the colonization movement several prominent Marylanders, influenced by conscientious motives, freed their slaves and paid their passage over to Liberia. Labor was difficult to obtain at that time, and many of those who freed their slaves did so with great personal sacrifice and financial loss. Mr. Daniel Murray, of Elkridge, whose estate became unprofitable through inability to obtain laborers after freeing his slaves, was compelled to teach school to support himself and family. Miss Margaret Mercer, of West River, who had been left with a large estate and many slaves, also freed every one of them, and paid their way to Liberia. She was unable to secure labor on her plantation, and her income became so reduced that she, too, resorted to school teaching as a means of maintenance.

In a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, March 9, 1885, by John H. B. Latrobe, then president of the society in Baltimore, I find the following summary of commercial facts, as they relate to the city of Baltimore alone, during the thirty years of the society's active connection with the colony (Maryland), for which it stood sponsor. These I have arranged after the following manner:

1. Shipments required for the use of the colony and for the trade connected with it, upward of \$1,000,000.
2. Shipments for the American Colonization Society, half a million more.
3. Built in the city of Baltimore, under the auspices of the state society, eight vessels for the trade, at a cost of \$113,000.
4. Bought for the trade, vessels already built, at a cost of \$22,000, making a total of \$135,000 for the construction and purchase of ships.
5. Sailed from the port of Baltimore, in addition to the foregoing, under the auspices of both the Maryland state society and the parent society at Washington, 52 chartered vessels. As a basis for calculation, the charter of each is put down at \$3,000, thus making a lump sum of \$156,000 for the charter of vessels alone sailing from Baltimore. To this add the cost of vessels built and bought by the state society for its operation in Liberia, and we will have the aggregate of \$291,000. It is estimated from the books of the society that from the passage of the act of 1831, which marks the dawn of the society's operation, to the absorption of the colony of Maryland by Liberia proper, in 1851, twenty years thereafter, about \$2,000,000 were spent under the auspices of Maryland alone.

The loss of the trade in the colony, and in Liberia proper, is due not so much to the withdrawal of colonial authority as to the withdrawal of maritime communication by American ships. The revival of our merchant marine will bring with it a revival of American trade along the whole West African coast.

The Republic of Liberia is located on the coast of Upper Guinea between the parallels of 4 and 7 north latitude, reaching from the Mannoh river on the north, boundary between Sierra Leone and Liberia, to the Cavalla on the south, embracing a remarkably fine coast line of about 500 miles on the Atlantic Ocean, thence eastward to the King Mountains, a distance of about 300 miles.

Out of a total population of about 2,500,000, only 25,000 are Americo-Liberians, the remainder, for the most part, being aborigines. These latter are divided into many sovereign tribes, having their own territory, language and government. The more important of these are the Veys, Deys, Golahs, Mombas, Queahs, Pesseys, Bassas, and the Kroos. Their language, habits, and dress are, of course, far inferior to those of the Americo-Liberians. The latter are the only Christians in the republic.

Coffee, rubber, and palm oil are the chief exportations from Liberia. Coffee grows wild and is also cultivated by the Americo-Liberians, and the rubber forests are extensive. These are a source of considerable revenue.

Several species of cattle, sheep, buffalo, deer, and antelope are found there.

Many of the houses are built of brick, with verandas, large windows, and bedrooms. As a whole they are far superior to the average negro houses of America. This is due to the fact that the best class of negroes were colonized there, and under American management. A telephone system and many other modern conveniences were also established in Monrovia by the colonization society.

Although the colony was composed of the better class of American negroes, many of them being mulattoes, occasionally a "black sheep" slipped into the bunch, of which the following is an example:

One family sent a negro boy Jim, whom they considered worthless, and imagined that he would relapse into barbarism. A few years later a war vessel off the coast of Liberia sent a boat load of sailors ashore for water. The latter encountered a band of half-naked blacks, who brandished spears and looked extremely unfriendly. The sailors accordingly displayed their rifles and would have dispersed the natives had not their leader shouted in plain English: "Don't shoot, boss; we won't hurt you!" The sailors were sure from what they knew of Jim that he was the leader of that crowd.

For some time after the colony was established more or less ill-feeling existed between the native blacks and the Americo-Liberians. This has been overcome and perfect harmony has prevailed ever since.

In 1861 the United States Department of the Interior entered into contract with the American Colonization Society to support for one year about 5,000 Africans who had been recaptured on the high seas by armed United States vessels. One hundred dollars a year was appropriated for the support of each of these negroes above eight years of age, and fifty dollars a year for every one under that age.

The Act, approved June 16, 1860, prohibiting slave trade in the United States, had thus been violated, and such was the cost of enforcing the law regarding it.

The following is a summary of the principal Americo-Liberia towns and settlements, with their approximate populations. The enumeration commences with Roberts Port, not far from the western (Sierra Leone) frontier of Liberia, and proceeds northward, southward, and eastward to the French frontier along the Kavalli river:

	Americo-Liberian Population		Americo-Liberian Population
County of Montserado:		Brought forward.....	8,850
Roberts Port	400	Coast between Grand Basa and River Ses.	150
Royesville.....	50	On the River Ses	50
St. Paul's River Settlements:		County of Sino:	
New Georgia.....	200	Sino Settlements:	
Caldwell	200	Sino River	50
Brewerville	300	Lexington.....	100
Clay Ashland	400	Greenville.....	350
Loisiana	100	Philadelphia	125
New York.....	50	Georgia	125
White Plains.....	300		750
Millsburg	250	Settlements on Kru Coast:	
Arthington	300	Nana Kru.....	
Careysburg	400	Sete Kru	
Crozierville	100	Nifu	
Bensonville	150	Sas Town	
Robertsville	150	Garawe.....	150
Harrisburg.....	250		
	3,150	Settlements around Cape Palmas and on the lower Kavalli River:	
Settlements on the Mesurado River:		Rock Town	100
Barnersville.....		Harper	500
Gardenersville		Philadelphia	100
Johnsonville		Latrobe.....	50
Paynesville.....	200	Cuttington	100
Monrovia.....	2,500	Half Kavalli	50
Junk River Settlements:		Hoffman	50
Schiefflin and Powells- ville	225	Middlesex.....	50
Mount Olive.....	150	Jacksonville.....	75
Marshall	125	Bunker Hill.....	25
Farmington River and Owen's Grove.....	300	Tubman Town	100
	800	New Georgia	25
County of Grand Basa:		Hillierville.....	25
Basa Settlements:			1,250
Little Basa	50	Americo-Liberians scattered about Lelipo in far interior of Maryland County; in the Boporo County, near the Sierra Leone frontier, and on the upper St. Paul's River, etc., say	150
Edina	250	Total Liberians of American origin...	11,350
Hartford	50		
St. John's River.....	350		
Upper Buchanan	400		
Lower Buchanan (Basa)	600		
Tobakoni.....	50		
	1,750		
Carried forward.....	8,850		

Cases

Port of Import	United States	England	Holland	Germany	All other Countries	Total
Monrovia.....	8	332	4	744	56	1,144
Marshall				16		16
G. C. Mount.....		156		112		268
Grand Bassa.....	4	380	12	148	8	552
River Cess.....		12				12
Sincoe.....		84		32		116
Maryland.....		72		36		108
Total	12	1,036	16	1,088	64	2,216

Value

Port of Import	United States	England	Holland	Germany	All Other Countries	Total
Monrovia.....	\$ 16	\$12,308	\$528	\$33,504	2,612	\$48,368
Marshall				200		200
G. C. Mount.....		8,716		4,880		13,596
Grand Bassa.....	224	20,368	436	3,756	320	25,104
River Cess.....		756				756
Sincoe.....		4,048		896		4,944
Maryland.....		2,152		1,124		3,276
Total	\$240	\$48,348	\$964	\$44,360	\$2,932	\$96,244

This table is a sad commentary upon the loss of our commercial prestige not only in Liberia, but on all the west coast of Africa, as will be seen by what follows relating to the large commercial transaction once carried on between Maryland county, one of the four divisions of the Republic of Liberia, and the city of Baltimore, wherein lived the society whose efforts in the colonization of free American colored people resulted in the birth of the African colony, then known as "Maryland in Liberia." The relinquishment of active authority in the colony by the society was followed by an abandonment of commercial relations with the people of the United States, and the trade, which up to that time had reached the million mark, was transferred to European markets.

On May 23, 1908, five delegates from Liberia—G. W. Gibson, formerly president of the republic; James Dawson, vice-president of Liberia; Charles B. Dunbar, an attorney; A. T. Faulkner, and Charles Branch, citizens of Monrovia—arrived in Washington to confer with President Roosevelt regarding encroachments of England and France over the boundary lines of Liberia. They also wished to stimulate action toward establishing direct trade relations between the United States and Liberia.

Mr. Dunbar told me that they would like to have the United States guarantee them an independent republic. He said that the excuse offered by England and France for breaking former treaties and confiscating territory within the Liberian boundaries was that warring tribes were not being controlled, and that sufficient developments of the country were not being made by the Liberian government. They, therefore, had to take it upon themselves.

This is true to a great extent, but it was evidently not entirely for beneficent purposes that these nations assumed the undertaking.

The delegation to America was far above the average negro. Aside from their silk stovepipe hats and other apparel to match, they displayed no small degree of knowledge and intelligence. They spent several weeks in this country, during which time they visited Tuskegee Institute and many other places of interest to them.

They gave Booker T. Washington an idea of their situation in Liberia and requested his co-operation in creating a friendly influence toward their republic.

The colonization society has now on deposit about \$100,000, the interest of which maintains a board of trustees, president and secretary. Little financial aid can at present be given to negroes who desire to colonize, but information regarding facilities for emmigration are freely distributed.

Persons wishing to emigrate to Liberia and desiring information or assistance should address "Mr. J. Ormond Wilson, secretary of the American Colonization Society, Colonization Rooms, 450 Pennsylvania avenue northwest, Washington, D. C.," giving their names, ages, and circumstances. Applications for assistance have become so numerous that the society will hereafter give the preference, all other things being equal, to those who will pay the most toward the cost of their passage and settlement in Liberia.

When I called at Mr. Wilson's office I was surprised to find the old gentleman in such a hopeless frame of mind regarding the colonization movement. He threw up both hands as he said: "Oh, when we began there were only 2,000,000 negroes in the United States. Now there are 10,000,000. We received \$1,000,000 a year for the cause at that time, but we receive nothing now."

I asked him if he had read Dr. Shufeldt's late book on "The American Negro," and he replied:

"I don't read anybody's books on the negro question any more. It seems to be a hopeless case."

Frederick Douglass was one of the great men of the negro race. He advocated the acquisition of some of the islands in the Caribbean Sea to be held by this government and governed as territories, and the heads

of families of American negroes who voluntarily emigrate to those islands to receive homesteads free on terms similar to those on which homesteads are given in our territories.

President Grant indorsed that Douglass proposition, and the latter was sent to Santo Domingo to investigate. Douglass thoroughly examined the resources of that country by a personal visit to all parts of it, and on his return made a favorable report to President Grant, stating Santo Domingo was capable of supporting 7,000,000 people. Senator Charles Sumner was instrumental in overthrowing all further investigations or plans for any action on the subject at that time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE OPINION OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS REGARDING COLONIZATION
THERE.

The Hon. S. T. Prout, postmaster-general of the republic, couched his views in the following paragraph:

"Too many should not come at one time. They should be able to support themselves for at least six months, and be prepared to build their houses, and open farms, etc. The kind of immigration wanted: First, men and women who are not ignorant, worn-out or needy. These will only be a burden to our government. They should, therefore, be skilled laborers, and possess a certain amount of capital to give them a start. Second, they should bring their books, if professional men; or their tools and implements, if mechanics or farmers. Doctors should come supplied and prepared for work. Third, men and women are wanted who are patriotic lovers of freedom, self-reliant men, men of push, men who can originate ideas and execute them, responsible men, men who come determined to stand by the Republic of Liberia and succeed as she succeeds, or fall as the republic falls; moral, industrious, Christian men. These are the men and women wanted to immigrate from America to Liberia. Anything short of this had better remain where they are."

The Hon. Daniel E. Howard, secretary of the treasury, expressed himself in the following words:

"The people of Liberia are ready and willing to welcome all worthy and thrifty negroes who have a right idea of manhood and freedom, and who are willing to endure hardships and really persuaded in their own minds that they can live in Liberia. If those who desire to immigrate have really gotten enough of all they can get out of America, the good and the bad, then, and not till then, let them come. They must be willing to leave the flesh pots as well as the lynching. Of course, every sane person will agree that an indiscriminate, heterogenous, wholesale influx of negroes or anybody else would be undesirable here or anywhere else.

"An absolute discriminate immigration is needed, and, therefore, preferred in Liberia."

Discussing the subject of immigration July 26, 1905, on the occasion of the national celebration, Mr. Thomas W. Howard, at that time postmaster at Monrovia, expressed the following sentiments which were warmly applauded:

"It is absolutely necessary that every inducement should be given to the return of our brethren across the sea to their fatherland. But it should be distinctly understood that none but those who are capable of coming to assist us in solving the great problems of the state are needed, for, quoting the

remarks made by Bishop H. M. Turner, a celebrated negro of the United States, "They had better stay there and die as dogs" than to come to Liberia in a helpless and useless condition. We want no such men in Liberia.

"Never before in the history of the republic has there been a greater need for immigration than at the present time, for the purpose of infusing into our body politic new blood and energy. But this need is for a select class of negro immigrants, not only from the United States, but also from the West Indies and other parts of West Africa. Men of intelligence, industry, thrift and patriotism. Not a lazy, thriftless class, seeking a place of rest, but a class realizing the dignity of labor and the true meaning of national independence. Liberia has passed her pioneering period and has now entered upon a constructive era, and as such must have within herself creative elements of the kind just mentioned, otherwise her progress will be retarded and a repetition of the scene which has presented itself to us in the case of the recent immigrants from the United States which the government located at Cheesemanburg."

The following is a part of President Barclay's inaugural address, at Monrovia:

"The colored American, or, rather, the class that would be a valuable acquisition to the country—the men of some culture, the small capitalist, and the men of initiative and push, are not inclined at present to come to Liberia. The leaders of the colored people are opposed to immigration to Liberia. They are in the fight for social and political equality with the white American. The success of the struggle is for them very doubtful, if not entirely hopeless. The negro masses are being lifted gradually and slowly, learning self-reliance, thrift and initiative. It is important that the intending immigrant possess these qualities; it cannot be denied that the country is not prepared for the movement. While preparing a home the immigrant must have facilities for procuring work. At present these do not exist. There is a class of men slowly coming into the country who will likely prove a most useful acquisition. They are rather above the average. As the country develops and opportunities offer they will encourage their friends to come over."

On one occasion of the Fourth of July, at the American Legation in Monrovia, President Barclay, in response to the address of Minister Lyon, who proposed the sentiment, "The Republic of Liberia and the Health of its Chief Executive," said, among other things:

"For my own part, I think it is providential that there has been no great rush of civilized negroes from America or elsewhere. There is the great danger that they would form a caste and would have and manifest an undue feeling of superiority calculated not to attract, but to repel their aboriginal brothers. Yet, I am aware that our state must have accessions of civilized persons of negro blood from America and the West Indies; but we must all see the danger of the incoming at this critical period, when we are trying to place on a proper footing our relations with the tribal communities of the country of a great number of people ignorant alike of the experience through which the older settlers have passed and of their conclusions thereupon; and, for some years, at least, after settlement, careless of both national organism and ideal."

From these remarks we readily see that the Americo-Liberians will oppose any movement to colonize the entire negro race in Liberia. The white people who are connected with the interests of the Liberian government, such as Consul-General of Liberia C. H. Adams of Boston, A. L. Bassler of New York, and others, are also opposed to a general transportation of the negroes to Africa. They live so far from the masses of the negroes of the South that they do not realize true conditions there. They consider only the welfare of the negro regardless of the Southern white population.

Under such circumstances there is no relief for America from that source.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

No two races have ever been able to live together on terms of political and social equality, and whoever believes that history will be reversed in this republic in reference to these two races is a dreamer and not a statesman.

What, then, is best for both races? Can a method be found that will, to some extent, settle this growing and dangerous race question and be just to both races? I believe it possible.

The home of the negro race has for unknown ages been near the earth's equator in a hot, wet climate, and it is wholly unnatural for the negro to migrate into a northern climate. Statistics show that in proportion to population consumption kills two negroes in the District of Columbia to one white person. In Florida consumption is scarcely known among the negroes. There they are so healthful that their skins glisten like polished ebony, and they are the happiest people on earth.

It would, therefore, be advantageous to both races if the negroes would consent to colonization in South America, Cuba, Porto Rico, San Domingo, or in the southeastern corner of the United States.

Colonization has not been advocated entirely by the white people of the country. Although the majority of the negroes at first resent such a plan until advocated by the leaders of their race, some of them have shown a desire to colonize.

Frequent crusades have been made through the South by the more intelligent and educated colored people, holding meetings for the purpose of arousing enthusiasm among their race to stimulate the movement of immigration to Liberia.

In many such instances Scripture was quoted, songs sung, and speeches made, and finally a collection taken for the good of the cause, and the agitators moved on to the next place. Said agitators made a good living at that business for several years.

Recently, however, a few of the foremost negroes of the United States are beginning to realize that their race would enjoy more freedom if colonized in another country. They are, therefore, manifesting an interest in the movement.

On October 30, 1893, a delegation of colored lawyers met at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and proceeded to Washington, D. C., to ask Con-

gress for \$1,000,000,000 with which to send their race back to Liberia. Representative Murray, of the Seventh South Carolina District, although not as enthusiastic over the project as the others, presented their cause to Congress, but met with no success.

On October 20, 1885, fifty prominent negroes of Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Kentucky met at Topeka, Kansas, and organized a "Central and South American Immigration Association and Equal Rights League of the Western Continent." The object of the organization was to build new homes in Central and South America, colonize the negroes of America there and thus solve the race problem.

After a great deal of discussion, in which no definite conclusions were reached, they disbanded, and each proceeded to lecture to the negroes of his native town or district on the merits of the undertaking. These efforts likewise produced no results.

In view of the fact that the negroes could be transported to Liberia at a cost of \$100 per head, while many of the ships would be returned empty, and to South America for \$15 per head, and the ships returned with cargoes of sugar and coffee, the latter would be the more feasible plan.

It was then proposed that every state in the Union be requested to organize a branch of the society to push the scheme and raise funds sufficient to send one hundred families to South America on an experiment, each state to arrange with a national board for the transportation.

As suggested by Dr. Shufeldt, should they depart from the stations or steamboat wharves of their present home villages singing their old plantation songs an enthusiasm would probably be created among them and many of those remaining would want to go along.

To successfully carry out such plans it will be necessary to build a few vessels to ply between New Orleans and South America, collect and diffuse full and reliable information regarding the country into which they are to be taken, secure the sympathy of the rank and file of both races regarding the movement, secure funds to apply on education and to foster a system of public schools.

Bishop Turner, the great religious leader of his race in the South, says the negro race must emigrate and go out of this country, as the Hebrews went out of Egypt. If our government should adopt the Fred Douglass plan, Bishop Turner would probably lead his people to San Domingo.

Those negro island governments would be accorded free trade with the states, the same as exists now with our continental territories, and that would give them a chance to utilize these islands that are now immensely rich in natural resources.

How the problem will eventually be solved no one can tell. Colonization to any appreciable extent will probably never be accomplished

outside of the United States unless a race war should occur. Under proper regulations, however, the American negroes are a most peaceable class of citizens.

As people who are so mixed with another, as dodder in alfalfa, are almost impossible to eradicate. They could be colonized, however, in the southeastern corner of the United States.

As extensive traveling becomes more popular each year a larger number of people will visit and become familiar with race conditions in the South. They will then invariably be ready to sympathize with the southern whites.

The educated negroes will advance through succeeding generations in the natural course of evolution. Several generations of consistent study will be required, however, on the part of the negro to capacitate him for education.

Immigration of the northern people into the South will probably result in an example of the survival of the fittest and crowd the ignorant negro into local colonies, where his habits and conditions can be no worse than is the case in such colonies at the present time.

The negro leaders, such as Booker T. Washington, can do more to uplift and educate the race than the combined forces of white missionaries. Just as the religion of the white man has been disseminated among the colored people through the negro preachers, so must all negro principles of morality, culture, and ethics, etc., be derived from the white race and transmitted to the lower race through the agents of that race.

In all race troubles, whether they are with the Indian, Mongolian, or negro, the people of the section where the friction occurs should be permitted to direct the course of readjustment or solution, and should receive the sympathy and support of the entire nation.

Therefore I say, until the question becomes a national issue, leave the southern negro to the South and the northern negro to the North. Neither section can solve the problems of the other, but each should lend their sympathy on such grave questions.

Leave the ballot in the hands of the illiterate negro, place liquor where he can get it, permit miscegenation, and advocate social equality, and the trouble will never end.

Give the negro educational advantages, but show him his place, and the illiterate of his race will to a great extent colonize in various localities of the South and probably become as near harmless as is possible on American soil. The mulattoes and more progressive negroes will not be a great burden to the North under such conditions.



THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

OCT 1 1934

NOV 22 1937

AUG 7 1945

DEC 20 1945

27 May '49 E H

25 May '54 BW

MAY 11 1954 LU

18 May '64 F J

REC'D LD

MAY 5 '64 10 PM

LD 21-100m-7,'33



E765

M⁶ 4

182799

Michele

